

DECOLONIZATION OF THE MIND  
A STRATEGY TO IMPROVE NATIVE AMERICAN STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT  
  
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*In MEMORY of the BELOVED GRANDMOTHERS*

Naomi Tobin, Elsie McCloud Capoeman, and Perlina Ellen Rarden

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*The war for Indian children will be won in the classroom.*  
— Wilma Mankiller

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*May the Creator always be with you, protect you, and take care of your family.*

*To my ancestors... this work is for you and your loved ones.*

*To all my relations.*

## ABSTRACT

For American Indians, education was the *weapon of mass destruction*. It obliterated their Indigenous identities, destroyed their families, culture, and traditional ways of life. The history of violence and genocide inflicted upon America's Indigenous peoples have continued to cause adverse psychological and physical effects. Native American students are underachieving and have the lowest graduation rates of all racial ethnic groups. The central research question for this qualitative study is how does intergenerational historical trauma impact the educational journeys of Puyallup tribal members? The goal of this study was to provide insights into the impact of intergenerational historical trauma upon eight Puyallup tribal elders and to discover possible relationships with their educational journeys and life choices. This study utilized the research strategy of phenomenological oral history. The use of this approach is culturally compatible and thus would be considered honorable within our culture. The findings indicated that three of the elders who received educational encouragement during their life were the only ones who studied beyond high school. The three who did not receive encouragement dropped out of high school. Two elders spent their careers working in Indian Education and they suggested what elements should comprise a tribal school staff development training program focused on teaching about the importance of culture and the intergenerational effect of historical trauma upon our students, families, elders, and ancestors. The goal of their suggested tribal school staff training is to provide staff members with the tools they will need to create a positive and nurturing educational environment that honors and emphasizes our traditional ways, so our students will develop positive attitudes about learning while strengthening their Indigenous identities leading to greater personal success and academic achievement.

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# **CHAPTER 1**

## **INTRODUCTION**

The term “research” is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism (Ormiston, 2010). When the word “research” is mentioned in most Indigenous contexts, it stirs up silence, bad memories, and distrust (Smith, 1999). Until recently, most research performed with Indigenous people, culture, and lands occurred without permission, consultation, or involvement of those being studied. In its earliest form, Indigenous research resulted in the removal of their nationhood, the replacement of their governments, and the destruction of their identities and cultures (Battiste, 2000). Despite the pervasiveness of this paradigm, as Indigenous people, we are finding our voices and working toward liberation from oppression. As Native Americans, we must recognize, reclaim, and redefine our worldviews as the first step in the decolonization process. We must restore our culture and communities and ultimately achieve self-determination (Ormiston, 2010).

Regardless of their ethnic origins or the state in which they live – disenfranchised and oppressed cultural populations across the United States have alarmingly similar social, health, and economic profiles (Browne, Mokuau, & Braun, 2009). The Indigenous people to the land that currently constitutes the United States of America share a similar history of colonization and oppression which has caused a collective historical trauma leading to shorter life expectancies and a higher prevalence of chronic diseases (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2000). The 2014 Native Youth Report (2014) stated,

More than one in three American Indian/Alaska Native children live in poverty. The American Indian /Alaska Native high school graduation rate is 67%, the lowest of any racial/ethnic group. Bureau of Indian Education (BIE) schools have a graduation rate of

53%. The national average is 80%. Suicide is the second leading cause of death – 2.5 times the national rate for Native youth in the 15 to 24 year-old age group. These statistics point to a stark reality: Native youth and Native education are in a state of emergency. (Executive Office of the President, p. 5)

### **Statement of the Problem**

Chief Leschi Schools is a P-12+ tribal school affiliated with the Puyallup Tribe, where our tribal members go to school. For comparison, Table 1 features the public report cards for Chief Leschi Schools and the neighboring Puyallup School District. Chief Leschi Schools is located within the boundaries of the Puyallup School District. Chief Leschi Schools is one tribal school comprised of an elementary and middle school/high school. It is a Bureau of Indian Education (BIE) school funded by the Department of Interior. In Table 1, notice the startling difference in student outcomes between Chief Leschi Schools and the neighboring Puyallup School District. In comparison, Chief Leschi Schools performed poorly. Where the chart says “Suppressed,” indicates Chief Leschi Schools did not provide that information to the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction.

During the twenty years I worked at Chief Leschi Schools, the administration was constantly trying different school improvement strategies. They reconstituted both the teaching and administrative staff to secure higher performing teachers and administrators. Twice within a period of ten years, the administration fired 50% of the teaching staff. It was traumatizing to the students, their families, and our community to have so many beloved staff members terminated. Students marched in protest and the news of the terminations was featured in the *Tacoma News Tribune* (Cafazzo, 2016).



The school district frequently replaced the administrative staff or moved people to positions they did not want to have, as a strategy to get them to move on. They secured many school improvement grants from the Department of Education and hired numerous pre-k, elementary and secondary literacy and math coaches for the instructional staff. Every two or three years, they implemented new scientifically-based reading and math curriculums. Just about the time teachers were comfortable and familiar with the existing reading curriculum, it would be deemed ineffective and a new curriculum would be adopted. The school district made every Wednesday a half-day to allow time for staff development for the new curriculums.

Table 1

Student Outcome for Chief Leschi Schools and the Puyallup School District

2016-2017 Chief Leschi Schools' Testing Results Percentage of Students Passing Washington State Standardized Testing			2016-2017 Puyallup School District's Testing Results Percentage of Students Passing Washington State Standardized Testing		
Grade Level	SBA ELA	SBA Math	Grade Level	SBA ELA	SBA Math
3 <sup>rd</sup> Grade	11.7%	Suppressed	3 <sup>rd</sup> Grade	55.9%	62.7%
4 <sup>th</sup> Grade	13.3%	Suppressed	4 <sup>th</sup> Grade	56.3%	56.5%
5 <sup>th</sup> Grade	13.2%	Suppressed	5 <sup>th</sup> Grade	62.2%	49.9%
6 <sup>th</sup> Grade	Suppressed	Suppressed	6 <sup>th</sup> Grade	62.6%	56.1%
7 <sup>th</sup> Grade	12.2%	6.1%	7 <sup>th</sup> Grade	65.7%	56.5%
8 <sup>th</sup> Grade	14.2%	5.7%	8 <sup>th</sup> Grade	61.3%	48.0%
11 <sup>th</sup> Grade	38.8%	5.5%	11 <sup>th</sup> Grade	77.0%	29.7%
Grade Level		MSP Science	Grade Level		MSP Science
5 <sup>th</sup> Grade		18.8%	5 <sup>th</sup> Grade		65.6%
8 <sup>th</sup> Grade		14.2%	8 <sup>th</sup> Grade		73.3%
Grade Level		EOC Biology	Grade Level		EOC Biology
10 <sup>th</sup> Grade		27.6%	10 <sup>th</sup> Grade		74.6%
<b>Key:</b> SBA ELA – Smarter Balanced Assessments (SBA) in English Language Arts (ELA) SBA Math – Smarter Balanced Assessments (SBA) in Mathematics MSP – Measurements of Student Progress in Science EOC – End-of-Course (EOC) Biology Exams More information may be obtained at the Washington State Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction's website at <a href="http://www.k12.wa.us/">http://www.k12.wa.us/</a> .					

Note. Chief Leschi Schools and Puyallup School District Report Cards. Charts indicate the percentage of students passing at grade level for the subjects identified. Information available at [www. http://reportcard.ospi.k12.wa.us](http://reportcard.ospi.k12.wa.us).

During the years I worked there, the primary teachers used the following curriculums for reading instruction: *Macmillan/McGraw-Hill*, *Language for Learning*, *Readwell*, and *High Scope*. *Macmillan/McGraw-Hill* is a basal reader. *Language for Learning* and *Readwell* utilize

direct instruction teaching methodology. *High-Scope* uses a constructivist or student-directed teaching approach. The intermediate teachers used *Macmillan/McGraw-Hill* and whole-language strategies. All grade levels participated in “Walk to Read,” which is teaching strategy that involves ability grouping. Students walked to their ability group, wherever it was located within the school. For example, a first-grade student might walk to a third-grade classroom for reading instruction. Today the staff uses the *American Reading Company* and *Eureka Math EngageNY* for all grades. Chief Leschi Schools no longer participates in “Walk to Read.”

Teachers partnered with the University of Washington to provide training in culturally responsive ways to teach math and science. The school partnered with Washington State University to receive technical assistance for teacher mentoring targeted at the improvement of instructional delivery and classroom management. Chief Leschi Schools secured millions of dollars in school improvement grants to improve student outcome, yet they never achieved Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP).

The fact that our tribal school has posted such poor academic results was the catalyst for this study. I have read numerous research reports on the reasons for academic failure for Native American students, yet none of them have identified intergenerational historical trauma as a possible cause. I wanted to find out if historical trauma has played any kind of a role in the attitudes and beliefs of our elders in regard to education that may have affected their educational journeys and life choices. I wanted to find out if those attitudes and beliefs might have been passed down intergenerationally. These questions were foundational in the purpose of this study.

### **The Purpose of the Study**

The goal of phenomenological research is not to create results that can be generalized, but to understand the meaning of an experience of a phenomenon (Converse, 2012). The purpose

of this study was to perform in-depth oral history interviewing with eight Puyallup tribal elders to gain an understanding of the lived experiences of the participants, paying careful attention to how the data results might relate to the phenomenon of intergenerational historical trauma, trying to determine if it has affected their educational journeys and life direction. Open-ended questions were asked and derived from the subject areas of: (a) family life, (b) tribal culture and history, (c) education, (d) spirituality/religion, and (e) work/employment. The interview content was transcribed verbatim, and analyzed, categorizing words, thoughts, attitudes, and life experiences, in order develop an understanding of their lived experiences. The overarching goal of the study was to infer from the findings if intergenerational historical trauma had a role in the development of our elders' attitudes and decisions regarding education and their academic achievement. I reasoned that, if evidence of intergenerational historical trauma was revealed in the findings, a proactive tribal school staff development plan could be developed to address it within our tribal school community.

### **Significance of the Study**

This study describes a culturally responsive qualitative research strategy designed to explore the lived experiences of Puyallup tribal elders with the goal of determining if there is a relationship between intergenerational historical trauma and their attitudes and life choices regarding education. I have been studying research articles on this topic for five years. As noted in the statement of the problem, I have not yet read a research article, dissertation, or book that has identified a relationship between the effect of intergenerational historical trauma and student attitudes and academic failure. If a relationship is evident in the findings, a decolonization of the mind healing plan will be suggested. The goal of a decolonization of the mind healing plan would be to provide school employees, elders, and community members with an opportunity to

participate in a research-based personal growth and healing experience imbued with elder Indigenous knowledge. The implementation of such a plan would help tribal members restore and enhance their Indigenous identities. It would help them discover, recover, and appreciate their cultural heritage, which would lead to a stronger sense of self-esteem and self-efficacy. These are the foundational building blocks for a positive life and educational journey. This study is also significant because it employs a culturally responsive data collection method to tell the life stories of our Puyallup tribal elders which is in alignment with our oral traditions.

### **Limitations of the Study**

Problems with oral history methodology are sometimes associated with the informant. Kirby (2008) found that sets of possible problems in oral history are related to:

- 1) whether or not the group of people to interview are representative of the general population, 2) the location of the interview, 3) the level of trust in the interviewer, 4) the reliability of memory, and 5) the willingness to be candid. (p. 25).

There are disagreements about how much of a problem actually exists as it applies to older adults. According to Thompson (1978), “There is evidence that the memories that elderly people have of their youth and life are just as reliable as any form of historical evidence” (p. 92). It is believed that for some older adults, retirement or loss of a spouse, triggers a “life review” and the informant’s long-term memory may become even more reliable (Kirby 2008).

This is good news because this study involved oral history interviews with elders. The age of the participants in this study should not have affected reliability or been a limitation. The Puyallup tribal elders were representative of elders within the tribe, and they choose the location for their interview. Trust in the researcher existed, because I have worked in the tribal community for 20 years in visible leadership positions. Five of the elders already knew me, and

all of them knew my mother before I contacted them. My mother is a well-known and beloved 85 year-old tribal elder. I did not know Henry John prior to the interview. Upon meeting me, he said, “The reason I agreed to be interviewed is because I know your mother, care about her, and respect her.” There were two other elders that I did not know, but I knew members of their immediate family. Their family members contacted me and assisted me with setting up the interview. Everyone else, I knew prior to the interviews. I worked with two of them for twenty years at Chief Leschi Schools.

Participant sample size in phenomenological oral history is small. The goal of oral history research does not include generalizing beyond the population of people studied: The goal of phenomenological research is to understand the meaning of an experience of a phenomenon (Converse, 2012). Therefore, the number of participants in a phenomenological study can be relatively small and should not be considered a limitation. The goal of oral history is to enable the researcher to understand the lives of people and transform the lived experience into a description of its essence. Elders are as important as librarians in providing knowledge about a phenomenon (Chilisa, 2012). All research has its limitations. However, phenomenology is the most culturally congruent Indigenous research methodology (Smith, 1999), and it is an active step in decolonization of the mind.

### **Quality Indicators and Use of Peer Review**

Several measures were employed in this study to ensure credibility of findings. Lincoln and Guba (1985), “recommend member checks as the most crucial technique for establishing credibility” (p. 314) in a study. This consists of providing data transcripts with interpretations for the participants to review, edit, or make suggestions. Participants were invited and encouraged to review the transcripts for accuracy and provide feedback. Other suggestions by

Maxwell (2012) that were employed include, “a) searching for alternative explanations, b) searching for disconfirming evidence and negative cases, c) soliciting feedback from those familiar with the setting and from strangers, d) providing thick and rich data descriptions, and e) comparison checks” (p. 244). Field notes were written down after the interviews and documented digitally. The field notes were non-judgmental (as much as possible), detailed, and provided a thick description of the interview situation, participant, and interview process. The use of peer review is recommended to provide an external check of the research process (Creswell, 1998; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Lincoln and Guba (1985) described the role of the peer reviewer as someone who helps explore aspects of the inquiry that might otherwise remain only implicit within the inquirer’s mind” (p. 308). I had a Native Hawaiian, PhD Psychologist, from the Big Island, served as a peer reviewer for this study.

### **Positionality Statement**

I will begin my positionality statement in our traditional way of sharing with you my tribal affiliation and who my family is. I am an elder in the Puyallup Tribe of Indians of Washington State. I am from the McCloud family. My mother is Puyallup tribal elder, Gladys Rarden. My grandmother is Elsie McCloud Capoeman from the Puyallup Tribe of Indians. My grandfather is Glenn Sireech from the Ute Tribe of Indians. My grandparents and my mother are full-blooded Indians. My great uncle was the late Billy Frank Jr., recipient of the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 2015, for his lifelong work in Indian Fishing Rights and environmental issues. I received my Indian name of Kivalahula from Maiselle Bridges, sister of Billy Frank Jr., in a Puyallup tribal sacred ceremony in 2014. Kivalahula was of Native Hawaiian ancestry. She came to the southern region of Puget Sound in Western Washington and married a Puyallup tribal man. It is our tribal belief that my ancestor, Kivalahula, is always with me and helps me in

my life journey providing strength, guidance, and wisdom. Connie McCloud, the Puyallup tribal culture coordinator, told me, “Our tribal ancestry is made up of many Native Hawaiians, which explains why our cultures are so similar.” Ben Baker, Moku`Aina A Wakinekona Hawaiian Civic Club President of Western Washington, told me the same thing in an interview several years ago.

I have 20 years of job experience working as a teacher, school counselor, elementary principal, and education program director at Chief Leschi Schools, in Puyallup, Washington. This is a Bureau of Indian Education school, affiliated with the Puyallup Tribe of Indians. I also worked for Bethel Public Schools for three years as a teacher and completed my administrative and school counseling internships with the Puyallup and Orting Public School Districts in Washington state. In my job as an educational leader, I designed and administered literacy and cultural education programs for both the elementary and middle school/high school. I wrote federal, state, and independent education grants, and managed all aspects of program operations, including program evaluation. I hold three master’s degrees in education: Educational Leadership (and Principal’s Credential), Reading and Literacy, and Guidance Counseling. I hold current Washington State Professional Certification as a Continuing Teacher (Elementary Education K-12, Early Childhood Education P-3, English 4-12, Social Studies 4-12, and Health 4-12), Continuing Administrator (P-12), and School Counselor (P-12), valid until June 30, 2022. My job experience and educational background influence my positionality views on P-12 Indian Education.

## **Through the Eyes of a *Spuyaləpabš* (Puyallup) Tribal Elder**

Sixteen years ago, I was employed as a building principal in a tribal school in Western Washington. I was perplexed by the attitudes and behaviors I observed in many of the parents of our students. Many of our parents enrolled their children in school when it was convenient and not when school began. Parents and extended family members were sometimes not supportive of educational goals, teachers, and the non-native staff. Some of our Native American employees exhibited a lack of trust and confidence in non-native administrators. Several of our families demonstrated trust, support, and connectedness with our Native American teachers and para-educators, and they continuously requested them for their child's teacher.

While employed as a teacher and administrator, I often wondered – Why do so many Indian families display apathy toward education? Most of the student homes I visited in our community did not have evidence of children's literature in the home. We wrote literacy grants for our students that provided them with a monthly book to take home. For many of our kids, this was the only way they would get books for their homes. Through the process of researching, studying, writing, continuous reflection, and praxis – I came a place of understanding of what I thought the root problem might stem from. This study might be supportive of my suspicions about what I think could be a cause of academic failure for our students.

The Executive Office of the President published a report titled, *2014 Native Youth Report*, which described the current and past educational systems, the root causes of the persistent educational disparities with recommendations to “strengthen ladders of opportunity for youth to help rebuild more prosperous, resilient tribal nations” (p. 6). This report and numerous other reports that have been published have not identified what I propose to be the most fundamental reason for academic failure for America's Indigenous learners.



Twenty years of job experience working in *Indian Country* as a teacher and educational leader, with deep reflection, meaningful praxis, living in the community, and being a *Spuyaləpabš* (Puyallup) tribal elder has influenced my thoughts about why academic failure is so prevalent amongst American's Indigenous learners. Prior to this study, I thought that perhaps academic failure for America's Indigenous learners stemmed from unresolved, intergenerational, historical trauma which instilled a deep internalized oppression instigated from colonization and ethnocide that our ancestors experienced, and passed on intergenerationally through negative attitudes, conversations, and actions. The findings from the phenomenological oral history interviews will be shared in Chapter 4: The Puyallup Tribal Elder Stories. They will be analyzed and explained in Chapter 5: Findings, Deep Themes, and Discussion.

### **Explanation of Terms**

To better understand this study, a list of key terms will be explained.

- 1) Historical trauma – is defined as the cumulative psychological wounding over the lifespan and across generations resulting from mass group trauma experiences, a direct result of colonization (Lucero, 2011).
- 2) Phenomenology – is often described as the study of essences (van Manen, 1990), and the exploration of human experience (Polkinghorne, 1983). Phenomenology's emphasis is on the world as lived by a person (Valle, King, & Halling, 1989).
- 3) Phenomenological research – is descriptive and focuses on the lived experience with the goal of giving meaning to the life world. It seeks to elucidate the essences of those structures as they appear in consciousness to make their meaning more visible (Kvale, 1996; Osborne, 1994; Polkinghorne, 1983).

- 4) Hermeneutic phenomenology – is interpretative and concentrated on historical meanings of experience and their development and cumulative effects on individuals and social levels (Laverty, 2003).
- 5) Oral history – provides the substance of the lived experience adding the emotion of what it felt like with a vivid subjective description. Oral history is a means of exploring aspects of research that cannot be accessed using other sources or methods (Bartie & McIver, 2013).
- 6) Decolonization of the mind – indicates an understanding that occurs when individuals begin to comprehend how societal forces and cultural hegemony have shaped their perceptions of self and how their life opportunities have been limited (Kral et al., 2011).
- 7) Community psychology – is an intervention program that emphasizes a level of analysis and intervention beyond the individual and his or her immediate interpersonal settings (Orford, 2008, p. xii).
- 8) Indian Country – describes the collection of tribal nations and Alaskan native communities that occupy a shared homeland and live in culturally bounded communities (LaFrance, 2004).
- 9) Tribal elders – are repositories of culture and philosophical knowledge and are transmitters of such information (Medicine, 2001, p., 313). Elders are honored and respected because of the lifetime's worth of wisdom they have acquired (Garrett & Garrett, 1994). For some tribes, a person becomes an elder when they are deemed knowledgeable of their tribe's cultural traditions. In the Puyallup Tribe of Indians, a tribal member becomes an elder at the age of 55. They are considered knowledgeable, keepers of the sacred ways, and highly respected.

- 10) Fishing Wars – also knowns as “Fish Wars” and “fish-ins” were a civil disobedience tactic used in the 1960s and 1970s designed to result in arrests and bring media attention to the state’s persistent violation of Indian fishing rights as guaranteed by federal treaties (Shreve, 2009). The Puyallup and Nisqually tribes held countless fish-ins and other protests in hopes of preserving their established fishing rights. The Fishing Wars were led by my great uncle, Billy Frank Jr., great aunt, Janet McCloud, Puyallup tribal member Robert Satiacum, and Hank Adams, an Assiniboiné from Fort Peck.
- 11) Yakima and Yakama – Yakima is a small city in central Washington state. Yakama is the name of a federally recognized tribe located just south of Yakima, Washington.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE**

#### **The Historical and Political Context of Education**

Education has been the most powerful weapon in the quest for control and colonization of the United States' Indigenous people. Education has historically been used as a control strategy in the shaping of human beings within all microsystems. Education always furthers the ideals and objectives of those in power and has the ability to shape society congruent to their mission. Education is a two-edged sword – it can liberate or enslave, humanize or dehumanize, empower or oppress. Throughout the history of the world, education has been used as a socializing process to secure the rights and privileges of those in control, while at the same time limiting life opportunities and inflicting internalized oppression on those viewed as inferior and unworthy (Smith, 1993).

#### **Colonization**

In its most basic form, colonization is when one group of people claims ownership of the territory already occupied by another group of people (Salzman, 2005). The stronger and more powerful colonizers imposed their own laws, customs, language, religion, and values upon our ancestors because they viewed them as inferior and savages. Native Americans began experiencing colonization in the late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, (Hilton, 2011). Colonization generally refers to the process that is perpetuated after the initial control over Indigenous peoples is achieved through invasion and conquest (Yellow Bird & Waziyatawin, 2012, p. 2). Colonization refers to both the formal and informal methods that maintain subjugation and/or exploitation of Indigenous peoples, their land and resources (Yellow Bird & Waziyatawin, 2012, p. 3). Perpetuating colonization allows the colonizers to maintain and expand control and power

socially, politically, and economically. Their power comes through the acquisition of Indian lands, resources, and lives. When a mass of people invades and colonizes a region fostering an Indigenous population, oppression is often a resulting factor (Hilton, 2011). The colonizers of Indigenous peoples used authority in a cruel and unjust manner and caused negative effects on the psyche of our ancestors. There has been social suffering and unresolved psychological harm caused from intergenerational historical trauma because of colonization (Alfred, 2005).

### **Frantz Fanon**

Frantz Fanon was a literary scholar, author, philosopher, Marxist, psychiatrist, and member of the Front de Liberation (FLN) during the Algerian revolution (Hilton, 2009). Fanon witnessed the horrors of oppression as a child, and he devoted his life to helping oppressed people. Fanon became the world's foremost authority on oppression related to colonization (Hilton, 2009). Fanon's work described the psyche of colonized people and their psychological health. In much of Fanon's writings, he used the concept of *Manichean psychology* to describe the roots of oppression in Algeria, which can be generalized to understand the oppression experienced by America's Indigenous peoples. In Manichean psychology, the oppression situation is one where the colonizer imposes his language and culture onto the colonized, erases the colonized past, devalues their thinking, and denies them their individuality (Hook, 2004). Manichean psychology is essential to Fanon's theories on the causes of dehumanization, racism, oppression, and violence as a means for decolonization and healing (Bulhan, 1985). The psychological effects of the European colonization that occurred in Algeria is congruent with what Native Americans experienced.

## **Education – The Weapon of Mass Destruction**

The European conquerors' weapon of mass destruction was stealthy, powerful, and calculated: It was the development and implementation of Indian boarding schools. It bequeathed the colonizers' complete control over American Indians. The boarding schools obliterated their sense of self-worth and destroyed their culture and traditional ways. In a speech given by Dr. Donald H. Smith (1993) at Howard University, "Education is the most powerful social force in the history of mankind" (p.144).

The history of Native American education can rightfully be conceptualized as focused on the goal of "civilizing" Indigenous people. This was done by supplanting our heritage languages with English, replacing our sacred religions with Christianity, and eradicating our entire way of life with their more "superior White culture." Lomawaima and McCarty (2002) stated:

Social change can best be affected through education, and schools were the logical choice as the institutions charged with the responsibility of Indigenous cultural genocide. American Indian children have been at the very center of the battleground between federal powers and tribal sovereignty; the war has been waged through them and about them, and the costs of Indian education have largely been borne by Indian peoples. (p. 282)

These policies were erroneously based on the assumption that Native Americans had no educational structures, no sense of property, and an inferior brand of spirituality (Grinde, 2004). Let it be known – Native Americans had a flourishing educational system long before the British arrived at Jamestown in 1607. Native elders and teachers imparted knowledge to adults and children on a broad range of topics including agriculture, medicine, geography, religion, history, and much more. American Indian's pedagogical methods commonly used oral tradition as a

means of instructional delivery and assessment. Europeans considered this to be primitive and inferior. Indigenous people believed education should emphasize their relationship to the natural world and not be lords over it (Grind, 2004). Europeans denigrated Indigenous education, and some believed it was nonexistent.

In the minds of the European colonizers, they were saving the poor Indians. They viewed themselves as a transformative force, who would “civilize the savages.” They would accomplish their mission through military force, sham treaties, and the sharing of disease-infested blankets. These methods brought forth success to their mission of ethnocide. However, the most destructive and dehumanizing results came from the most effective weapon of all – Indian boarding schools.

Ideally, education should be a means to enlighten and liberate, but for the Indigenous peoples of the United States, it was used to demoralize, conquer, and control. Education as the exercise of domination stimulates the credulity of students with the ideological intent (often not perceived by educators) of indoctrinating them to adapt to the world of oppression (Freire, 1972, p. 78). Education always has a political agenda: It is always controlled by the more powerful, dominant, and elite, as a tool to further their political cause.

The historical and political context of education for American Indians was fashioned by collective suffering, resulting from one of the most systematic, intentional, and successful programs of ethnic cleansing the world has ever seen (Whitbeck, Adams, Hoyt, & Chen, 2004). All Indigenous peoples of the United States of America endured governmental colonial policies intentionally designed to eliminate their culture and traditional ways of life.

## **U.S. Educational Policies that Supported Colonization**

Educational policies were aimed at removing children and educating them away from their parents and home, teaching them English, and forbidding their use of their traditional language (Adams, 1995). Traditional spiritual teachings and ceremonies were declared illegal and forced underground (Duran & Duran, 1995). Policies of forced acculturation continued through the 1950s with the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs sponsored relocation legislation meant to remove Indigenous people from their reservations into the mainstream economy for vocational training and job placement (Cobb & Fowler, 2007).

## **U.S. Laws that Supported Historical Trauma**

The U.S. government passed a series of laws that directed the colonization movement and was a prelude to the torment and struggle that our ancestors endured. As early as 1790, George Washington and his Secretary of War, Henry Knox, urged Congress to pass the first *Trade and Intercourse Act*, in part to “civilize” American Indians (Holms, 1978). In 1830, President Andrew Jackson signed the *Indian Removal Act*, which resulted in the first “legal” loss of Native American homelands to the European settlers. Shortly after it was passed, Native Americans were herded like cattle to the newly formed *Indian Territory*. Some Native Americans refused to relocate. The president’s second letter to Congress spoke of progress that was made removing the *Five Civilized Tribes* (Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole) to Indian Territory (Talbot, 2006). He averred that removal would enable the Indians, “...to cast off their savage habits and become an interesting, civilized, Christian community” (Morris, 2007). At the same time, Governor Wilson Lumpkin of Georgia wrote to President Jackson regarding the Indians who refused to relocate, “If now they refuse to accept the liberal terms offered, they will



be responsible for whatever evils and difficulties may arise... starvation and destruction await them if they remain much longer in their present abodes” (Cave, 2003, p. 1340).

The United States government intervened and passed the *Treaty of New Echota* in 1836, which gave them the authority to execute a “forced removal” (McNickle, 1957). The terms of the New Echota treaty required the Cherokee Nation to relinquish their homelands and move west to the newly established *Indian Territory*. The treaty was not approved by the Cherokee National Council nor signed by Chief John Ross; nonetheless, it was ratified by the U.S. Senate in March 1836 (Akers, 2014).

In 1836, the Cherokee National Council delivered a petition with more than ten thousand signatures on it, attesting the Treaty of New Echota was fraudulent and protesting its ratification (Akers, 2014). John Ross, Chief of the Cherokee Nation, wrote a letter on September 28, 1835 to the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives expressing great sadness on behalf of the tribal membership:

By the stipulations of this instrument, we are despoiled of our private possessions, the infeasible property of individuals. We are stripped of every attribute of freedom and eligibility for legal self-defense. Our property may be plundered before our eyes; violence may be committed on our persons; even our lives may be taken away, and there is none to regard our complaints. We are denationalized; we are disfranchised. We are deprived of membership in the human family! We have neither land nor home, nor resting place that can be called our own... our hearts are sickened. The instrument in question is not the act of our Nation; we are not parties to its covenants; it has not received the sanction of our people... we cannot but contemplate the enforcement of the stipulations of this instrument on us, against our consent, as an act of injustice and

oppression. (Moulton, 1985, para. 3)

The Treaty of New Echota became the legal basis for the forcible removal of Native Americans from their homelands. The Muscogee, Seminole, Chickasaw, and Choctaw nations were also forced to leave their ancestral homelands and relocate to the Indian Territory, which became known as the *Trail of Tears*. There was no recourse other than war available to Native Americans who were cheated by the United States. U.S. courts were almost completely closed to litigation over treaty matters, and there was no path for justice or a fair review (Deloria & Wilkins, 1999, p. 54).

In 1851, the United States government passed the *Indian Appropriations Act*, which forced Native Americans to relocate to reservations on small portions of land in the sovereign Indian Territory. At the time, President Roosevelt made a speech about Native Americans stating, "...justice is on the side of the pioneers... this great continent could not have been kept as nothing but a game reserve for the squalid savages" (Jacobs, 1972, p. 141). This sentence is also in a book by Roosevelt titled, *Winning of the West*. His words capture the mindset and attitudes of top U.S. officials.

In 1880, John Wesley Powell, head of the government's Bureau of Ethnology, advised Senator Henry Teller in a letter that future Indian policy should be based on four principles: destroy the Indian land ethic, break up the clan system, retain Indians in a state of wardship until they voluntarily give up their old ways, and pursue a general goal of complete assimilation (Hoxie, 1979). Powell (1880) stated,

First, the government should shatter the Indian's attachment to their sacred homeland.

When an Indian clan or tribe gives up their land, they not only surrender their home as understood by civilized people, but their Gods are abandoned. All of their religion

connected therewith and the worship of ancestors will be buried in the soil. Everything most sacred to Indian society will be yielded up. (Hoxie, 1979, p. 79)

Thus, a concerted attack on Indian culture and religion began in the last quarter of the nineteenth century during a period of Indian reform. Congress unilaterally ended treaty making in 1871, and the last indigenous nationalities, the “wild Indians,” were confined by the military under the reservation system and the Indian frontier was declared closed (Talbot, 2006).

The *Dawes Act* was passed in 1887, which mandated a policy of forced assimilation on all fronts – economic, political, social, cultural, and religious (Hoxie, 1997). This act allowed the U.S. government to dismantle the reservations and divide up the land into small parcels that were federally controlled. The Dawes Act was responsible for a massive loss of reservation land (Hoxie, 1997). In 1889, almost 1,900,000 acres of land from the Seminole and Creek Nations were put up for free claim in the *Oklahoma Land Run* (Bohanon & Coelho, 1998, p.126). The *Indian Reorganization Act* of 1934 brought the 47-year long Dawes Act to a halt. By the end of the 1880s – anthropologists, army officers, politicians, reformers, religious leaders, Congress, and the President believed that Indian assimilation could be achieved through a reduction of the Native land base, education, allotment, and citizenship (Hoxie, 1977).

### **President Ulysses Grant’s *Peace Policy***

The boarding school system became formalized after the Civil War under President Ulysses Grant’s Peace Policy and was inaugurated in 1869-1870 (Talbot, 2006). This policy gave school administration responsibilities to Christian denominations. The Peace Policy consolidated all Indians onto a smaller number of reservations and set up a *Board of Indian Commissioners* composed of private citizens to oversee *Bureau of Indian Affairs* functions. Religious missionaries were appointed as Indian agents and their charge was to create a mini-

theocratic environment aligned with Christian denominations inculcating Christianity and white cultural values upon them. In theory, this program would remove Indians as a military threat while it provided for their entry into American society. A decade later, the policy was considered a failure prompting policy makers to abandon the *removal-to-reservation strategy* and implementing full-scale forced assimilation (Talbot, 2006).

Newspapers in 1875 reported there was corruption within the *Department of Interior* under Secretary Columbus Delano (Smith, 2001, p. 578). It was revealed that Delano had taken bribes for fraudulent land grants and gave lucrative cartographical contracts to his son, John Delano and to President Ulysses S. Grant's brother, Orvil Grant (Smith, 2001, p. 578). Neither John Delano nor Orvil Grant performed any work, nor were they qualified to work as cartographers (McFeely, 1981, p. 430; Salinger, 2005, p. 374). The press put pressure on President Grant to ask for Secretary Delano's resignation. President Grant asked for Sec. Delano's resignation and he complied on October 15, 1875 (Smith, 2001, p. 578).

President Grant appointed Zachariah Chandler to replace Sec. Delano (Smith, 2001, p. 578). Chandler discovered that Delano had paid phony Indian attorneys to provide tribes with representation in the nation's capital. Many of the attorneys were unqualified and Indian tribes were swindled believing they had a voice in Washington (Pierson, 1880, p. 343-345). Sec. Chandler discovered that there were over 800 fraudulent Native American land grants under Sec. Delano's leadership (McFeely, 1981, p. 430).

Henry Teller served as Secretary of the Interior between 1882 and 1885. He strongly opposed the Dawes Act. He advocated Native Americans must be forced to give up their land so it could be sold to white settlers. Sec. Teller rationalized cultural genocide was more economical. Sec. Teller argued that it would cost \$22 million to wage war against the Indians over a ten-year

period, whereas, it would cost less than a quarter of that amount to educate 30,000 children for a year (Trennert, 1982). The schools operated as frugally as possible. Every aspect of the boarding school system was intended to destroy the cultural identity of Native American children and dismantle their families.

### **Indian Boarding Schools**

The United States government attempted to assimilate Native Americans into the Euro-White culture by establishing on-reservation day schools. When they were deemed ineffective, government officials instituted boarding schools to solve “The Indian Problem” (Adams, 1995, p.3). Implementing off-reservation boarding schools was derived from the idea that tribal identity could be erased by separating Indian children from Indian adults (Lomawaima, 1994).

Carlisle Indian School was the first off-reservation Indian boarding school. It was developed in 1879, and founded by Captain Richard Henry Pratt in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Pratt believed that *Indian ways* were inferior, and he subscribed to the principle, “Kill the Indian and save the man” (Gone, 2013). Pratt stated, “Transfer the savage-born infant to the surroundings of civilization and he will grow to possess a civilized language and habit” (Adams, 1995). He modeled Carlisle after a school he previously developed in Ft. Marion Prison, which held 72 Native prisoners of war. The strategy was to instill Christianity and White cultural values upon them and force them to assimilate into the dominant society.

Indian boarding schools – perhaps the most painful and difficult chapter in our collective history as Indigenous people. The federal government forcibly abducted Indian children from their families and homes and transported them to off-reservation boarding schools, usually administered in cooperation with churches. Children were sent to boarding schools when they were as young as four years old (Gone, 2009). Fear and loneliness were a common experience

for the Indian children who were forced to leave their families and way of life. If parents refused to send their children to boarding schools, their food rations would be cut, and they would be sent to jail. Letters from the children to their parents would be filtered, and the parents would not receive them.

Indian Boarding Schools forbade the use of the students' Native languages, religious rituals, and family visitation. Christianity was forced upon them. Indian children were forced to have their hair cut and were not allowed to wear their traditional clothing. The children were mandated to wear uniforms. Their Indian names were erased, and they were assigned new European names. Many boarding schools used "before and after" photos to flaunt their efficacy at "civilizing the savages" (Adams, 1995). School administrators eradicated all vestiges of their tribal culture and instilled deep, painful *soul wounds* (Duran & Duran, 1995, p.24). The forced relocation broke apart their protective intergenerational linkages that preserved and taught their language, religion, and sacred traditions. Indian boarding schools were designed for cultural genocide (Salzman, 2014).

Indigenous cultures are highly interconnected, and families usually consist of extended family members. Generational ties are valued because elders are considered repositories of cultural knowledge, spirituality, and traditional language. Their life experiences are deeply respected: Elders are vehicles for direction and advice about how to live our lives. Elder wisdom was not passed on because grandparents, mothers, and fathers were separated from their grandchildren, daughters, and sons. They could not teach their cultural ways of parenting by providing appropriate role models of strong parents and elders (Walls & Whitbeck, 2012a). The children's parents and family members felt anger, depression, guilt, anxiety, internalized

oppression, and profoundly inadequate in their parenting roles (Brave Heart, 1998, 1999a, 1999b; Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998, Duran & Duran, 1995; Evans-Campbell, 2008).

The damage from subpar parenting, lack of affection, loneliness, and boarding school abuse, was a major factor in the ills that trouble tribes today (Lajimodiere, 2012). The negative effects of forced relocation on past generations was a turning point in the lives of our ancestors, and those effects have “rippled-out” to future generations (Walls & Whitbeck, 2012b). There is strong empirical evidence of stress and psychological harm associated with structural displacement and forced relocation of Native Americans and all collectivist cultural groups (O’Sullivan & Handal, 1988).

**Puyallup tribal Indian boarding schools.** The Puyallup Tribe had two Indian Boarding Schools. The Medicine Creek Treaty of 1854 negotiated the development of the Cushman Indian Trade School (Roberts, 1987). A primary school was started in 1858 on the south end of Squaxin Island, but it was closed due to low attendance. A new school was built on the Puyallup reservation. The Puyallup School emphasized vocational training and included a carpenter and blacksmith shop. In 1898, enrollment at the Puyallup School was opened to Indian children from much of the Northwest and Alaska (Keller, 1974).

In 1910 the school was renamed Cushman School to honor Francis N. Cushman, a Washington state congressman. By 1912, Cushman School offered a variety of vocational courses of instruction. The school provided an academic course that resulted in the completion of an eighth grade education and special two-year industrial courses (Roberts, 1987). The girls were given training in housekeeping, cooking, sewing, laundering, gardening, fruit and vegetable canning, poultry raising, and home gardening. The school had athletic teams and played local

schools. Several of the students enrolled in militia training and were called to active duty in the 91<sup>st</sup> Infantry Division in France (Roberts, 1987).

The most serious crisis at Cushman was the 1918 influenza epidemic (Roberts, 1987). Cushman School was not prepared for such a disease and many students died. As news of the epidemic reached the parents, many of them demanded their children be returned home. As the outbreak of influenza spread, pressures mounted at Cushman School. The morale of the students and staff began to erode. There were many runaways from the school because of the influenza epidemic (Roberts, 1987). In the Spring of 1919, the school was targeted for closure. The last day of classes was on May 15, 1919, and the last graduating class consisted of ten pupils (Superintendent's Annual Report, 1920).

In 1888, the Catholics felt there was a need for a school in addition to the Cushman Indian Trade School (Shackleford, 1918). They felt the Indian students needed to have religious training. The Catholics acquired land just outside of the northern border of the Puyallup reservation to build a new school. St. George's Industrial School officially opened on October 26, 1888 (Shackleford, 1918). The school more commonly went by the name of St. George's Indian School (Schoenberg, 1987). The children received rudiments of a secular education and were taught about Christianity (Shackleford, 1918). The general pattern of the day consisted of half of the day used for instruction and the other half for chores. The instruction at St. George was modeled after the government schools to allow students to transfer back and forth. Industrial training was a focus on St. George's Indian School. For most of the life of the school the capacity of the school was 80 students and it was always full (Shackleford, 1918). Students who attended were six to sixteen years of age. In the late 1920s, the federal reservation schools



around the country were being closed with states taking over the education of Indian children (Harmon, 1988). St. George Indian School closed in 1936 (Schoenberg, 1987).

When you read the elders' stories in Chapter 4 you will discover that many of their family members attended one of these two boarding schools. Just as common, many of our ancestors attended Chemawa Indian Boarding School in Oregon. My grandparents went to Chemawa.

### **Historical Trauma Theory**

In a groundbreaking series of articles, Brave Heart (Brave Heart, 1998; Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1988; Brave Heart-Jordan & DeBruyn 1995) ties the American Indian genocide ethnic cleansing and policies of forced acculturation to the Holocaust experience and alludes to patterns of symptoms that correspond in many respects to those experienced by Holocaust survivors and their families (Whitbeck et al., 2004). Historical trauma became increasingly important in considerations of wellness among historically oppressed communities (Evans-Campbell, 2008). Brave Heart's work in the field of historical trauma made a significant contribution to the field of intergenerational traumatology. There have been a wide variety of terms used to describe the multigenerational nature of distress in communities. Those terms are collective trauma, intergenerational trauma, multigenerational trauma, and historical trauma. For this dissertation, I will refer interchangeably historical trauma or intergenerational historical trauma. It is defined as a collective complex trauma inflicted upon a group of people who share a specific group identity or affiliation – ethnicity, nationality, and religious affiliation (Evans-Campbell, 2008). It is the legacy of numerous traumatic events a community experiences over generations and encompasses the psychological and social responses to such events (Brave Heart, 1999a; Brave Heart, 1999b, Brave Heart, 2000; Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998). The concept of historical

trauma has served as a description of trauma responses and as a causal explanation. Associated historical events tend to be profoundly destructive at a physical and/or emotional level and are generally experienced by most people in the community (Brave Heart, 1999a, 1999b, 2000; Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998). Within Indian tribes, historical trauma has been collective, in that many people experience it and exhibit a traumatic reaction. Previous scholars suggested that the effects of these historically traumatic events are transmitted intergenerationally as descendants continue to identify emotionally with ancestral suffering (Brave Heart 1999a, 1999b). Although these events involved may have occurred over the course of many years and generations, they continue to have clear impacts on contemporary individual and familial health, mental health, and Indigenous identity (Evans-Campbell, 2009).

### **Indigenous Identity**

Indigenusness is an identity constructed, shaped, and lived in the politicized context of contemporary colonialism (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005). The demeaning fact of colonization by foreign peoples fundamentally distinguishes Indigenous people from other peoples of the world (Alfred, 2005). There are approximately 350 million Indigenous people living in some 70 countries around the world (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005). There are vast differences between them with their cultures, political-economic status, and their relationships with the colonizing settlers. What we have in common with our Indigenous brothers and sisters is that we all have to confront the daily reality that our ancestors had their land, homes, languages, traditional ways of life, and cultures attacked, taken away, and reconstructed by the more powerful, elite, colonial societies and states. Our existence has been determined by acts of survival by our ancestors against the colonizing states' efforts to eradicate them politically, culturally, and physically. We

also have in common a struggle to survive as distinct peoples, each with unique heritages and attachments to our homelands.

What helps define our Indigenous identities is in our connections to spiritual power, homelands, ceremonial life, language, and the historical narratives. Indigenous identity is both creative and reactive, given the reality of colonization. Indigenous identity draws on history and tradition, but also incorporates forms of resistance to oppression, and finally, incorporates the dialectics between imposition, resistance, and incorporation (Fanon, 1961; Memmi, 1957, Said, 1994). Indigenous identity is always shaped by the racist imposition of colonization. It will always be a response to culture, politics, and the particularities of communities' histories, which must be rewritten to reflect the truth of what our ancestors experienced.

Garcia and Shirley (2012) stated:

History is all about power. The first task in decolonizing the mind is rediscovering history from an Indigenous perspective and developing a critical Indigenous consciousness of Indigenous people's history with colonization and assimilation.

(p. 83)

Indigenous scholars must begin the systematic decolonization of American history by examining the "master" narrative's fictive accounts posed in textbooks and classrooms bringing forth the truth as to what happened to our Native American ancestors. The historical narratives must be rewritten to document the truth that our ancestors did not voluntarily cede their homelands and relocate willingly to reservations devoid of water, trees, game, and fertile agricultural lands (Akers, 2014). The U.S. government systemically obtained Native American lands through sham treaties with threats of annihilation while portraying the treaties as mutually agreeable and legitimate instruments between sovereign nations. Native American tribes did not

willingly give up their land to become dependent paupers forced to rely on the parsimony and cruelty of their oppressors. The crimes against humanity must be made clear and accurately described in textbooks and classrooms (Akers, 2014), and the true-life stories of our ancestors must be told. Rewriting the historical narratives to be accurate is about empowerment and justice (Smith, 1999). The data collection methodology of oral history interviews will provide an opportunity for our elders to bring forth the truths of our own tribal history.

Considering the notion of Indigenous identity being dynamic and an interconnected concept constituted in history, ceremony, language, and land; it is the relationships or kinship networks at the core of an authentic Indigenous identity. Phenomenological oral history provides an opportunity for our elders to provide information about our history, ceremony, language, and land; that can be recorded, analyzed, documented, and made available for future generations. If any one of these elements of Indigenous identity, such as sacred history is in danger of being lost, unified action must be taken to revitalize and restore it (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005).

Cherokee sociologist, Eva Marie Garrouette (2003) stated, “The concept of *Radical Indigenism* is a process of pursuing scholarship that is grounded in Indigenous community goals which follows the path laid down in the models of inquiry traditional to their tribal community (p. 144). This intellectual strategy entails utilizing all of the talents of the people with an emphasis on elders within a community to begin a process of cultural regeneration to strengthen Indigenous identity. The larger process of regeneration, as with the outwardly focused process of decolonization begins with the self (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005). Decolonization and regeneration are shifts in thinking and action that emanate from a recommitment and reorientation of one’s self, which may lead to a political movement that could challenge state agendas and authorities.

Current approaches to confronting the problem of contemporary colonialism must not ignore the wisdom of the teachings of our ancestors (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005), which can be derived from oral history personal interviews with our elders. As Indigenous scholars, we are challenged to assume an activist position with a focus on correcting and reclaiming our Indigenous identities. We must identify our most pressing contemporary tribal problems and design solutions based on our traditional teachings drawing from culturally congruent qualitative research utilizing elder Indigenous knowledge.

Colonization alone can have a detrimental effect of the Indigenous identity and psyche of Indigenous peoples (Hilton, 2011). The struggles of Indigenous peoples are not to be taken lightly. Until this psychological grief is resolved through a decolonization program, high rates of mental illness, violence, suicide, and homicide will plague Native American people (Hilton, 2011).

### **The Responsibilities of Culture**

Culture is defined as a collection of social norms, beliefs, and values that are learned over time. Culture provides both a worldview and a way of living that can vary within ethnic groups depending on life circumstances (Guerra & Knox, 2008). Culture has three primary purposes: (a) to provide adequately for the physical needs of the population, (b) to provide for the psychological needs of the people, and (c) to protect and not impinge upon the rights of its citizens (Salzman, 2014). Culture provides a psychological defense (anxiety buffer) against the terror that is inherent in human existence. Culture serves this essential function by providing a worldview that may be internalized that offers standards that if achieved allows for the construction of self-esteem (Salzman, 2018, p. 55). Having genuine feelings of self-worth provides an anxiety buffer. The cultural anxiety buffer requires that the individual or community

have faith in the cultural or religious worldview and to see himself or herself as meeting its standards (Salzman, 2018, p. 56). Humans receive validation from their cultural anxiety-buffer when they experience positive interactions with others. When others view us as successful and in a positive light, we are validated, and a positive self-image occurs. Individuals will have their own perception of how they are meeting their cultural standards of value. If an individual feels they are not meeting the established cultural standards, their self-esteem will be negatively impacted, and increased anxiety will occur. It is the shared cultural worldview that gives the standards their meaning.

### **The Need for a Cultural Worldview**

A shared cultural worldview provides an opportunity for common beliefs, experiences, and expectations. The cultural worldview sets the standards to which humans subscribe. The cultural standards will contain both specific and general expectations and will define role expectations. The standards will require that certain competencies be met and will contain moral attributes with expected corresponding behaviors from members within that culture. Individuals will select specific roles within the culture. Our greatest concern is establishing ourselves as valuable members of society. To do this, we must first establish ourselves as secure. We must view ourselves as valuable in the external world. The shared cultural construction allows for humans to live relatively stress-free lives. This occurs because people view themselves as living up to the established cultural standards.

### **Self-Esteem and Self-Efficacy**

For children, the parent or caregiver relationship is the strongest developmental source of self-esteem and self-efficacy. Children develop their sense of self-worth from the love and care expressed by their parents or caregivers. Self-esteem develops in early childhood. It is derived

from the perception of the quality of the parent-child (or caregiver-child) relationship. For a child, the biggest fear is abandonment by one's parents or caregivers. If this occurs, it makes the child feel worthless. For Native American children who were forced to leave their families and subjected to living without daily love and support, their sense of self-worth was tremendously challenged, creating deep feelings of anxiety, depression, and confusion.

### **Spirituality, Religion, and a Fear of Death**

Native American religious teachings and cultural beliefs play an important role in our accepted conception of reality that brings forth meaning and significance to our lives. Parents have a strong desire to ensure the perpetuation of their own worldviews and immortality. Religious rituals affirm cultural values and build the anxiety-buffer. Undoubtedly, American Indians experienced constant stress from being denied participation in their own sacred religion and being forced to assume the oppressor's beliefs and lifestyle. Native religion and spirituality provide a key survival function for Indigenous people.

Anytime a child or adult experiences something that threatens their existence, anxiety occurs. All anxiety-provoking thoughts remind us of our human vulnerability and mortality. Children eventually realize death is inevitable and it is an absolute end of existence. Parents, caregivers, or extended family members play a central role in building a security base. Children come to realize they cannot solve the terrifying problem of someday experiencing death. Children may shift their basis of security to something far greater that can transcend death. Children may develop their security base by associating and participating in organized religion.

The transition to accept a cultural worldview becomes imperative for one's security (Greenberg, Pyszczynski, & Solomon, 1991). If a child or adult maintains a cultural anxiety-buffer, they are protected and able to keep the fear of death out of their awareness. Culture may

provide an anxiety-buffer against the terror of vulnerability and death because it provides us with the belief that we are a part of a meaningful, important, and enduring existence (Greenberg et al., 1991). American Indians did not have their cultural anxiety-buffer to alleviate life's daily stresses, such as fear of death and annihilation. This is because their language, traditional ways, and sacred ceremonies had been taken away from them.

### **Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory**

An analysis of a behavior cannot be conducted independently of the social-ecological-cultural context (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Lerner, 1994). The ecological model posits four systems for classifying context (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1995; Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1983). The systems are: (a) microsystem – one's immediate environment such as school, family, neighborhood; (b) mesosystem – which connects between the systems, (c) exosystem – described as the larger social context such as government, educational systems, or economic systems; (d) macrosystems – which are the norms and values of the culture, economic conditions, political systems, and laws. Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory model is an effective framework to understand how the macrosystem or the broader culture has impacted the life journeys of Indigenous people. The macrosystem represents an overarching context that includes historical events such as colonization, decolonization, community, and cultural trauma (Salzman, 2001). Later work by Bronfenbrenner included the chronosystem, which incorporates the unique influence of a child's personal history.

Culture is used as a broad term to include the roles of ethnicity, socioeconomics, social values and customs. Critics of Bronfenbrenner's theory believe it gives too little attention to biological and cognitive factors in a child's development (Santrock, 2006). Biological and cognitive factors are important in the development of a child, but in the case of America's



Indigenous people – it is the exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem that have had the most significant impact on human development. It is emphasized that no symptom or observation can be accurately interpreted without due consideration to social, historical, political, and cultural contexts (Salzman, 2005). When developing a plan for psychological decolonization, the consultant must carefully consider relevant context. Problems do not solely reside within the individual (Salzman, 2005).

### **History of Loss and Death for American Indians**

There were four centuries of outright genocide perpetuated against Native Americans by European colonizers of the Western Hemisphere following the arrival of Christopher Columbus (Stannard, 1992). When linked with the destruction caused by epidemic disease, it was the most extensive genocide in the history of the world: The Native American population was reduced by 95 percent (Thornton, 1987). By the close of the seventeenth century, there was one Native person in New England alive for every twenty who had greeted the English colonists less than a 100 years earlier (Stannard, 1992).

### **Death Affirming Climate**

Paulo Freire (1972) emphasized in his book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, that violence is initiated by those who oppress, exploit, and fail to recognize others as human beings (p.55). When this happens, a death-affirming climate of oppression occurs for the oppressed, and life becomes a struggle to affirm humanization (Freire, 1972, p. 50). Oppression is described by Freire as necrophilic, as the oppressed are constantly reminded of their own mortality. Freire (1972) supports that, “oppression is nourished by the love of death, not life” (p. 32). Undoubtedly, the oppressed American Indians, were in a perpetual state of terror with death embracing their daily thoughts.

## **Terror Management Theory**

The feelings of loss, death, and being defeated have correlations to Terror Management Theory (TMT). Cultural anthropologist, Ernest Becker, inspired the development of TMT from his 1973 Pulitzer Prize winning work titled, *The Denial of Death*, in which he argued most human action is taken to ignore or avoid the inevitability of death. The terror of absolute annihilation creates profound anxiety in people's subconscious thoughts, and humans spend their lives attempting to make sense of it. Over the past 25 years, social psychologists have amassed a significant body of empirical evidence substantiating Ernest Becker's work. Social psychologists Jeff Greenberg, Tom Pyszczynski, and Sheldon Solomon proposed TMT in 1986 (Greenberg, Pyszczynski & Solomon, 1986).

Becker hypothesized that humans confront the physical problems of death and tragedy symbolically through the creation of culture. Culture is the humanly created symbolic perceptual constructions shared by groups of people to minimize anxiety associated with the awareness of death (Greenberg et al., 1991). Humans live within a socially shared conception of the universe that is intentionally developed and maintained. Members of the same cultural group believe in a shared worldview that provides society with meaning and order. This shared worldview buffers the anxiety that humans develop living in a mostly uncontrollable world, where for most people death is the only certainty. The cultural worldview is a socially constructed symbol of the meaning of life.

### **Terror Management Theory and the Need for Culture**

Humans must adopt a cultural worldview to possess a sense of security in what can be a terrifying and uncontrollable universe. People must believe they are valuable members of a meaningful universe. Humans look toward the cultural worldviews that have been developed and

accepted. Next, they determine if they have met the standards that have been established by society.

A cultural worldview provides a description of how the universe was created, details on how people should live their lives, and sometimes will hold a promise of immortality for those who follow life expectations set forth by the spiritual or religious community. Some people have faith in an afterlife or a power greater than themselves without belonging to a religious community. Participation in cultural religious activities helps people come to believe they are members of a community of believers who will experience something meaningful beyond their death and attain a sense of immortality. This reduces the feeling of internalized anxiety and can bring forth feelings of inner peace.

Humans possess the need for self-preservation. Anything that threatens one's existence may become a strong source of anxiety. The individual will then want to remove him or herself from the perceived threatening situation. All anxiety producing events in our lives will remind us of our vulnerability and mortality. Culture provides an anxiety buffer that helps protect us from this awareness and helps keep fear associated with mortality out of our consciousness. The anxiety that develops over concerns of vulnerability and mortality is repressed by the culture-buffer.

Past historical and political events in the lives of our ancestors undoubtedly caused stress, anxiety, and uncertainty that would have deeply affected their lives during their most formative years of human development. American Indian children were mandated to attend government or church operated Indian Boarding Schools, wrought with emotional, physical, and sexual abuse by school personnel and other students, malnutrition, illness, and an array of deleterious living conditions that lacked essential basic human needs (Whitbeck et al., 2004).

American Indians experienced a profound level of cultural loss with the suppression and eradication of their heritage languages and sacred traditions. Living under these inhumane conditions, they suffered internalized fear and trauma stemming from the deaths of their loved ones from wars and disease – jettisoning their basic physiological needs for human survival while their cultural worldview was abolished.

### **Decolonization**

Decolonization is a living concept we are only beginning to understand (Jaime, 2008). As Indigenous peoples, the reality of colonization is ever present in our communities, educational systems, public policies, communications, and media. Decolonization is the meaningful and active resistance to the forces of colonialism that perpetuate the subjugation and/or exploitation of our minds, bodies, and lands (Yellow Bird & Waziyatawin, 2012, p. 3). Decolonization is the intentional, collective, and reflective self-examination undertaken by formerly colonized peoples that results in shared remedial action (Gone, 2013). The ultimate goal of decolonization is to overturn the colonial structure and achieve liberation and self-determination. The key to decolonization is community emancipation from the hegemony of outside interests (Wilson & Yellow Bird, 2005). Some contemporary tribal communities have made recognizable progress in reassuring authority and wresting control from settler society governments in multiple domains, including tribal administration of therapeutic services (McFarland, Gabriel, Bigelow & Walker, 2006).

### **Strategies for Decolonization of the Mind**

When the colonized take the opportunity to define themselves both internally and externally, the process of decolonization begins (Jaime, 2008). Paulo Freire (1997) believed that freedom from the psychological controls and obstacles of colonization liberates people. It is

through this liberation that the oppressed become conscious of the internalized colonization which they have endured and make the choice to liberate themselves or to continue the cycle of oppression (Jaime, 2008). It is a continual process, especially given the hegemonic nature of our society (Rios, 2007). The oppressed must be vigilant and mindful every day to not be lured back into colonized identities.

Eduardo Duran (2006) in his book, *Healing the Soul Wound* explained, “The Native idea of intergenerational historical trauma involves an understanding that the trauma occurred in the soul or spirit” (p. 7). Understanding intergenerational historical trauma is a critical concept that must be understood, in order to begin a shift in the mind. It is the first concept to be learned when beginning to work on decolonization. Decolonization is the stripping away of what detains us, holds us, and prevents us from negotiating our own destiny and allows us to transcend to a place of balance and peace (Mohanty, 2003; Smith, 1999).

In the process of decolonization there are often moments of enlightenment, sadness, peace, and change. Jaime (2008) stated,

It is through these moments of realization that the individuals come to identify their oppression, at which point they will make one of two decisions about the way in which to proceed: (1) acknowledge the oppression yet do nothing or (2) question and resist the oppression to the eventual point that they begin to become liberated. (p. 3)

This is a formulation of decolonization in which autonomy and self-determination are central to the process of liberation and can only be achieved through a self-reflective collective practice (Mohanty, 2003, p. 8). The process of decolonization comes from a reflective evaluation of one’s life and experiences. We are deeply aware of the need to begin decolonization with our own positionalities, with an inward look at our own histories, subjugations, privileges,

contradictions, tensions, insecurities, rage, hope, optimism, and aspirations – each of these are entangled with the others (Sium, Desai, & Ritskes, 2012). As others have suggested, decolonization can only be achieved through the resurgence of an Indigenous consciousness. It may be a painful process as questions are asked and new understandings are realized. Decolonization requires a self-reflexive collective practice in the transformation of the self, reconceptualization of identity, and political mobilizations as necessary elements (Mohanty, 2003, p. 8). When individuals begin to question the way society accepts stereotypes and generalizations about marginalized groups, they are on the journey toward decolonization of self (Harro, 2000).

Strategies for decolonization of the mind have been described in many different ways. Historian Butler et al., (2005) stated:

Approaching decolonization is a three-step process: acknowledging the reality of colonization, rejecting Western ideologies as superior, and replacing oppressive concepts and methodologies with Indigenous ways of knowing and viewing history. This procedure supports the healing and mobilization necessary to achieve Indigenous self-determination and social justice. (p. 290)

**Poka Laenui's Decolonization Steps.** Poka Laenui, Native Hawaiian scholar and sovereignty activist, suggest five phases in the process of decolonization: (1) rediscovery and recovery, (2) mourning, (3) dreaming, (4) commitment, and (5) action (Laenui, 2000; Chilisa, 2012, p. 15). Rediscovery and recovery is the phase when we must question our assumed place in the dominant culture and rediscover our Indigenous history. We must recognize the truth of the injustices that occurred to our ancestors. We must recover the lost aspects of our history, traditions, languages, and identity. This phase sets the foundation for the eventual

decolonization of the society. Mourning is a time when people are able to lament their victimization. It is an essential phase of healing. In the mourning phase, the individual may express great feelings of anger and lashing out at all symbols of the colonizer (Laenui, 2000). People in this phase often immerse themselves totally in the rediscovery of their history. In the dreaming stage, people experience the full panorama of possibilities and build their dreams. The dreaming stage eventually becomes the flooring for a new social order. A reevaluation of the political, social, economic, and judicial structures may occur. Aspects of self-determination will be examined; reflection and introspection will occur. Dreaming is followed by commitment. This phase will culminate in people combining their voices in a clear statement of their desired direction (Laenui, 2000). Action is the next phase and occurs upon a consensus of commitment. The steps are not linear. People can occupy more than one stage at a time and can go back and forth between the stages. At any time, people can draw from different stages.

### **Community Psychology and Decolonization**

A tribal school decolonization staff development intervention program falls under the umbrella of community psychology. The central idea of community psychology is that people's functioning can only be understood by studying the social contexts of their existence. Community psychology emphasizes a level of analysis and intervention beyond the individual and his or her immediate interpersonal settings (Orford, 2008, p. xii). Community psychology is guided by seven core values that provide the basis for the definition of questions, hypothesis, objectives and methods, in both research and intervention (Ornelas, Aguiar, Sacchetto & Jorge-Monteiro, 2012). The seven core values are: a) individual and family wellness, b) sense of community, c) respect for human diversity, d) social justice, e) empowerment and citizen participation, f) collaboration and community strengths, and g) empirical grounding. This

dissertation explored the values of: sense of community, empowerment and citizen participation, collaboration and community strengths, social justice; and liberation, which are the foundational principles for a decolonization community psychology program.

The central concepts in cultural community psychology (CCP) are power, empowerment, and disempowerment (Orford, 2008, p. xii). It is recognized that social and economic arrangements of power and resources create adversity and distress in people's lives. Our ancestors were subjected to colonization by force. They experienced extreme adversity and distress from an imbalance of power and resources. The colonized had little power over key factors affecting their lives. When individuals have little power over their lives, their health is negatively affected. It must be understood that control and power is structured in societal arrangements and that loss of power and control was psychologically damaging (Orford, 2008, p. xii) to our ancestors.

A central task for the decolonization program facilitator is to raise consciousness among the participants in the ways that societal power has been used and abused and how it may influence psychological and physical wellness. A goal of a community psychology decolonization plan would be to help Indigenous people analyze power and help them discover ways to combat inequality, social injustice, and resist oppression.

Community psychology has its emphasis on prevention, intervention, and policy changes at the non-individual level. It is believed that change must be facilitated in the social, economic and environmental levels that give rise to such problems (Orford, 2008, p. xiii). This is why a decolonization of the mind program is a community psychology program rather than an individualized one.



Community psychology often involves working collaboratively with those who have been marginalized and disempowered. It is a good fit for Indigenous people who have been intergenerationally oppressed. Emphasis should be placed on providing a decolonization program that is participatory with goals established to achieve empowerment for a particular group in a particular setting. The program needs to favor interventions that are collaborative with emphasis on citizen participation. Multilateral co-research and co-action with participants is encouraged rather than interventions that involve working unilaterally (Orford, 2008, p. xiii). The goal of the community psychologist is to help facilitate empowerment, which occupies a prominent position in community psychology theory. Empowerment is a process by which people, organizations, and communities gain mastery over issues of concern to them (Rappaport, 1987). Empowerment is how people gain control over their lives and is a major goal of decolonization of the mind.

Social justice has emerged as basic to the philosophy of community psychology (Orford, 2008, p. 62). There is a need to engage in the struggle for social justice as a means of promoting psychological and physical well-being. Community psychologists from around the world have identified social justice as an essential underlying core value. Achieving social justice is a goal of decolonization.

Community psychology's purpose must be thoughtful, passionate, and pragmatic, embodied in culturally congruent and responsive research. CCP places an emphasis on the importance of context and in promoting theory development and research, which increases our understanding of human behavior (SCRA, 2010). The emphasis on context has long influenced community psychology theory, methodology, and action research in psychology (Lewin, 1946).

Culture exists within community psychology with its emphasis on context, ecology, and diversity. A cultural approach that values the community's points of view and an understanding of shared and divergent meanings, goals, and norms within a theory of empowerment needs to be suggested (Kral et al., 2011). CCP must include a sense of community ownership. It must not clash with Indigenous community reality. The goal is to design an Indigenous community psychology decolonization program that is liberating and works toward collective empowerment (Watts & Serrano-Garcia, 2003; Kral et al., 2011).

Decolonization of the mind will occur when individuals begin to understand how societal forces and cultural hegemony have shaped their perceptions of self and how their life opportunities have been limited (Kral et al., 2011). Ideally, trusted, trained, community tribal elders would facilitate a decolonization community psychology intervention program. They would provide insights about how to successfully seek self-determination and empowerment, while confronting a system of power, oppression, and liberation.

As Native American scholars, we must conduct research targeted at the development of culturally compatible decolonization community psychology healing plans for our tribal members and school employees incorporating elder Indigenous knowledge. All tribal school employees must have foundational knowledge of how historical trauma has impacted the lives of our people and understand how it directly affects student outcome, so they can be advocates and active participants in decolonization.

The overarching goals of this proposed decolonization community psychology program will be for tribal school employees and interested community members to critically examine colonization, power, inequities, the historical narratives, Terror Management Theory, the importance of culture, and the decolonization process steps; while envisioning hope, making a

commitment to a decolonized mind and action, while promoting liberation, self-determination, sovereignty, and nation-building. Through this process, tribal school employees and community members will become enlightened, empowered, and emancipated.

As researchers, we need to imbue decolonization concepts within our daily lives. We must come to know and understand theory and research from our own Indigenous lenses (Smith, 1999, p. 39). We must internalize decolonization so that its concepts and values are no longer new to us. These truths need to become a part of our repertoire that shapes our world. As Indigenous people, we are no longer victims when we consciously work toward decolonization and liberation.

### **Decolonization of Indigenous Education**

History tells us that the evolution of Native American education is framed within colonial experiences of Western schooling structures, values, and knowledge systems (Garcia & Shirley, 2012). America's Indigenous peoples had a cultural literacy comprised of songs, ceremonies, stories, dances, and spiritual landscapes that defined our educational teachings, perceptions, and relationships to the world. Native elders and teachers imparted knowledge to adults and children on a broad range of topics including agriculture, medicine, geography, religion, history, and much more utilizing oral traditions. Education policies were erroneously based on the assumption that Native Americans had no educational structures, no sense of property, and an inferior brand of spirituality (Grinde, 2004). Europeans considered Indigenous education techniques to be primitive and inferior. Indigenous people believed education should emphasize their relationship to the natural world and not be lords over it (Grind, 2004). Native Americans had a flourishing educational system long before the British arrived at Jamestown in

1607. For the Indigenous peoples of the United States, education was used to demoralize, conquer, and control.

A process of decolonization of Indigenous education must be enacted. Decolonizing pedagogies will help learners come to recognize and know the structures of colonization and their implications. Education must be re-centered toward Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing (McGregor, 2012). The teacher must focus their educational objective to help their students work toward Indigenous self-determination. Indigenous history education must be rewritten (Smith, 1999). Revising the content of education to better reflect Indigenous perspectives is the focus of curriculum reform (McGregor, 2012). Indigenous curriculum must be inclusive, holistic, and reflective of Indigenous ways of teaching and learning.

Indigenous Diné scholar, Tiffany Lee (2006), coined the term *critical Indigenous consciousness* to refer to Smith's (1999) *conception of conscientization*, which means, "the freeing up of the Indigenous mind from the grip of dominant hegemony, in order to achieve transformation in Native communities" (p. 2). Pedagogical tools must engage students in a decolonized process that critically examines injustices and inequitable power relations and must incite the development of a critical Indigenous consciousness. The overarching goal of Indigenous education is to enact a schooling experience that is rooted in self-education, self-determination and sovereignty for Indigenous peoples (Garcia & Shirley, 2012).

Indigenous educational theory and research must emphasize the importance of parents, extended family members, and elders. There must be a commitment to the community in building educational capacity (McGregor, 2012). There must be a respect for the environment and all of its inhabitants with emphasis upon having sustainable relationships, and preservation of Indigenous languages and cultures. Educators must understand the local Indigenous

customary protocols and community expectations. Elders should be included in instruction, storytelling, ceremonies, and language instruction. Teachers must mobilize the response of the difficult history between education and colonization by disrupting it (Smith, 1999) with these decolonizing pedagogies. The process of decolonization of Indigenous education must begin with critical internal praxis to correct the miseducation of all people that will ultimately lead to outward action and change (Butler et al., 2005). Teachers of Indigenous learners need to value and engage the use of oral traditions and elder Indigenous knowledge, as step in decolonization. Iseke-Barnes (2008) stated in *Pedagogies for De-Colonizing*:

We are challenged as educators to transform our educational practices to consider Indigenous curricula and ways of educating that account for our histories, both before and after contact, and to recognize ongoing survival, healing practices, wholeness, and ways back to Indigenous knowledges that can transform our lives as Indigenous scholars, educators and students. (p. 144)

We must understand that transformation will only take place if we disrupt the dominate discourses. Educators must be encouraged to immerse their students in the literature so that they too can transform their understandings of Indigenous peoples and participate in decolonizing strategies and practices (Iseke-Barnes, 2008). When our teachers and Indigenous scholars are engaged in study on this topic and informed by it, they can begin to transform their thinking, teaching, and research.

### **Decolonization of Research Methodologies**

In the Western understanding, research in general may be defined as an investigation or experiment aimed at the discovery and interpretation of facts (Porsanger, 2004). Research has been a used as a tool in the colonization of Indigenous people, their land, culture, and Native

languages. As Indigenous scholars, we must break free of the frames of Western epistemologies and assume Indigenous research methodologies that are culturally responsive and compatible. The quest for decolonization of research must be a top priority for all Indigenous scholars. Decolonizing research is a process for conducting research with Indigenous communities that places Indigenous voices and epistemologies in the center of the research process (Swadener & Mutua, 2008) .

The process of decolonization requires ethically and culturally congruent approaches to the study of Indigenous issues and critically evaluated methodologies. An indigenization process challenges researchers to invoke Indigenous knowledge to inform ways in which concepts and new theoretical frameworks for research studies are defined, new tools of collecting data developed, and the literature base broadened, so that we depend not only on written texts but also on largely unwritten texts of the formally colonized and historically oppressed people (Chilisa, 2012, p. 101). Decolonization of research methods is about centering our concepts and worldviews and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes (Smith, 1999, p. 39). Indigenous research must preserve, maintain, and restore our traditions, languages, and cultural practices (Crazy Bull, 1997).

Linda Smith (1999) wrote in her book *Indigenous Methodologies*:

Oppressive research and writing stems from the uncritical assumption that Western or colonized methods are correct. These methods of research privilege Western texts and concepts over Indigenous sources and perspectives and reinforce the notion that Western ideologies are in some way superior. Therefore, by recognizing the destructive standards of Western concepts and negating their legitimacy in our work, we are contributing to the process of decolonization. (p. 34)

Those who theorize or struggle for decolonization seek space for cultural revitalization and for authentic traditional and contemporary cultural expression (Green, 2009).

### **Central Research Question and Subquestions for this Study**

With qualitative studies, oral history research questions are continually being revised as data are collected and analyzed (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). Qualitative research questions are more open-ended, flexible, and less specific than those found in quantitative studies. The central question identifies the central phenomenon under investigation. The central research questions and subquestions (see Figure 1) combined guided the semi-structured questions that were asked during the in-depth oral history interviews.

The findings from Central Research Subquestions 1, 3, and 5 are explained in Chapter 4: Puyallup Tribal Elders' Lived Stories. The participants described their lived experiences and what they know of their ancestors' life experiences. Seven of eight of the participants described how attending boarding schools impacted either their life directly, or the life of their ancestor(s). Their life stories have been described in chapter four. The central research question and the research subquestions two and three will be discussed in the Chapter 5: Findings, Deep Themes, and Discussion.

Figure 1

Central Research Question
How does unresolved, intergenerational, historical trauma impact the educational journeys of Puyallup tribal members?
Research Subquestions
1) What were the lived experiences of Puyallup tribal elders? 2) In what ways (if any) did Puyallup tribal elders experience intergenerational historical trauma (e.g., boarding school attendance, domestic violence, alcoholism, etc.)? 3) How did the forced removal of Puyallup tribal children to Indian boarding schools impact family life, attitudes toward education, career choices, healthy or unhealthy lifestyles, and life success? 4) In what ways did attendance at Indian boarding schools affect feelings of self-worth and self-efficacy for our ancestors and their descendants? 5) What do today's Puyallup tribal elders know of the lived experiences of their ancestors?

*Figure 1.* The central research question and five subquestions are identified.



## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

#### **Qualitative Research: Phenomenology, and Hermeneutic Phenomenology**

Qualitative studies emphasize discovery, description, and meaning rather than prediction, control and measurement (Laverty, 2003). The last 25 years have been a time of growing crises for mainstream positivistic psychology as both the philosophies and the methodologies used in research are being rethought (Klein & Wescott, 1994). This has been described as a “crisis of value” at work that cannot be resolved simply by appealing to traditional forms of logic and authority (Smith, 1991). There is a growing recognition of the limitations of addressing many significant questions in the human realm within the requirements of empirical methods and its quest for indubitable truth (Polkinhorne, 1983). Out of this milieu, a variety of research methodologies have grown in popularity including phenomenology and hermeneutic phenomenology (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

Phenomenology and hermeneutic phenomenology are often referred to interchangeably without questioning and distinction between them, but they have key differences. We must understand the research approaches, philosophical assumptions, and their theoretical influences that inform two methods (Pernecky & Jamal, 2010). Scholastic vigilance must ensure that all components align with the aims and underpinnings of the research study. The differences and similarities will be discussed. We will begin with a discussion of phenomenology. Next, we will discuss Edmund Husserl the founder, and influential thinkers Heidegger and Gadamer.

#### **Phenomenology**

The term phenomenology is derived from two Greek words *phainomen* (an appearance) and *logos* (reason or word) which translate into reasoned appearance where appearance stands

for anything that one is conscious of (Stewart & Michunas, 1974). The word phenomenon similarly originates in the Greek *phaenesthai* that means to appear or show itself (Moustakas, 1994). Spiegelberg (1994) identified three core historical phases and influential thinkers in the development of phenomenology:

- 1) the preparatory phase with Franz Brentano (1838-1917) and Carl Stumpf (1848-1936),
- 2) the German phase with Edmund Husserl (1859-1938), Martin Heidegger (1889-1976, and Max Scheler (1874-1928), and 3) the French phase with Gabriel Marcel (1889-1974), Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980), Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908-1961), Paul Ricoeur (1913-2005), Mike Dufrenne (1919-1995) and Emmanuel Levinas (1906-1995). (p.VII-XVIII)

The phases of phenomenological development have also been described as being divided into the periods of pre-transcendental or epistemological phenomenology, fully transcendental or epistemological phenomenology, fully transcendental phenomenology, and genetic phenomenology (Pernecky & Jamal, 2010).

### **Edmund Husserl**

Edmund Husserl is often referred to as the founder of phenomenological philosophy (Cohen, 1987; Koch, 1996; Polkinghorne, 1983; Scruton, 1995). Husserl's initial work focused on mathematics. His dissertation initially focused on calculus. His interests changed to philosophy when he worked under Franz Brentano (Lavery, 2003). His interest progressed to "pure phenomenology," which may be attained by combining it with the method of phenomenological reduction (also known as bracketing, to be discussed later). Phenomenology is often described as the study of essences (van Manen, 1990), and the exploration of human experience (Polkinghorne, 1983). Phenomenology's emphasis is on the world as lived by a

person (Valle et al., 1989), and is commonly referred to as the study of consciousness. Franz Brentano (1838-1917) supported that to be conscious is to be conscious of something. This directness of experience toward objects and the world is characterized as the study of intentionality (Brentano, 1973; Cerbone, 2006).

Phenomenology for Husserl was a rigorous and scientific study of things as they appear to be, in order to come to an essential understanding of human consciousness and experience (Valle et al., 1989). In his early work, Husserl demanded that objectivity of “even the most logical of objectives be traced back to the structures of consciousness in and through which it first became possible” (Macann, 1993, p. 3).

Often mistaken for a qualitative method, phenomenology is in fact, an area within philosophy that has been appropriated to provide methodological guidance in applied research (van Manen, 2003). Phenomenology has become increasingly popular as a research perspective to study the lived experience in the humanistic and social science disciplines (Lavery, 2003). Approaches to phenomenology differ significantly despite some similarities. The researcher can situate his or her phenomenological study in different research paradigms depending upon the aim and philosophical underpinnings of the research study. This study will utilize hermeneutic phenomenology and the rationale for selection will be described.

For this dissertation, we will draw from the work of Husserl, Heidegger, and Gadamer to illustrate the differences because they have been the most influential thinkers. Husserl’s work lends itself towards the search for essential structures of consciousness and the intrinsic structures of lived experiences. Heidegger’s work was existentially oriented toward “understanding” and “meaning” (Lavery, 2003).

**Husserlian phenomenology.** Edmund Husserl's Husserlian phenomenology is a focused inquiry that asks the question, "What is this experience like?" It attempts to unfold meanings as they are lived in everyday existence (Lavery, 2003). Husserl saw this method as a way of reaching true meaning through penetrating deeper and deeper into reality (Lavery, 2003). Phenomenology was seen as a movement away from the Cartesian dualism of reality being something 'out there' or completely separate from the individual (Jones, 1975; Koch, 1995).

The primary focus for Husserl was the study of phenomena as they appeared through consciousness (Lavery, 2003). Husserl believed that consciousness was the co-constituted dialogue between a person and the world, and the result of direct grasping of a phenomena (Valle et al., 1989). Husserl saw intentionality as a process and essences as key to our understanding of the phenomena (Koch, 1995). Consciousness is the starting point for building reality.

Husserlian phenomenological techniques include reduction or bracketing, meaning the suspension or excluding of all questions and claims concerning whatever might be causally responsible for the conscious experience. Husserl proposed that one needed to bracket out the outer world as well as individual biases in order to successfully achieve contact with the essences (Lavery, 2003). Bracketing is one factor that is central to the rigor of a phenomenological study. This is a process of suspending one's judgement or bracketing particular beliefs about the phenomena under study. It is the essences or inner true nature of a thing that Husserl strove to identify (Dowling, 2007).

### **Martin Heidegger**

Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) was born in Germany and began his career in theology. Heidegger first committed to Husserlian philosophy, yet he was never a formal student of

Husserl (Jones, 1975). Heidegger and Husserl worked together at Albert Ludwigs University of Freiburg. Husserl trained Heidegger in the processes of phenomenological intentionality and reduction. Heidegger succeeded Husserl to attain his professorship upon his retirement. Once established in Husserl's chair, Heidegger disassociated himself from Husserl and his work (Lavery, 2003).

**Heidegger's phenomenology.** Heidegger believed that understanding is a basic form of human existence, and that understanding is not the way we know the world, but rather the way we are (Polkinghorne, 1983). Historically, a person's history or background includes what a culture gives a person from birth and is handed down presenting ways of understanding the world (Lavery, 2003). Our tribal elders and members' thinking are in alignment with Heidegger's view. Heidegger believed that through this understanding we are able to determine what is real, yet he advocated one's background cannot be made completely explicit (Lavery, 2003). Heidegger believed that people view the world as indissolubly related in cultural, social, and historical contexts (Munhall, 1989). He supported the idea that humans have a pre-understanding, which is the structure for being in the world. This pre-understanding creates our understandings for the organizations of culture. Heidegger supported that this pre-understanding is not something we can put aside or bracket, because these understandings are already a part of us in this world. Heidegger claimed that nothing can be encountered without references to a person's background understanding (Lavery, 2003). There is an indissoluble unity between a person and the world (Koch, 1995). It was believed that we find and construct meaning at the same time as we construct our concept of the world by means of our own historical background and experiences. Heidegger stressed that every encounter involves an interpretation influenced by an individual's background or historicity (Lavery, 2003).

I completely agree with Heidegger's philosophy of phenomenology. I bring to this research study, 20 years of professional experience working in a Bureau of Indian Education school and living my life as a Puyallup tribal member in the tribal community. It is not possible for me to bracket away my background and pre-understandings. My study embraces the theoretical foundational beliefs of hermeneutic phenomenology.

Hermeneutics is an interpretive process that seeks to bring understanding and disclosure of phenomena through language (Annells, 1996). Hermeneutics is also the study of human cultural activity as texts with a view towards interpretation to find intended or expressed meanings (Kvale, 1996). Texts mean anything that is written, verbally communicated, or conveyed via the visual arts or music. Heidegger advocated that researchers need to become aware of their own interpretative influences, which may be achieved through what he called a hermeneutic circle. Within the circle, interpretation of phenomena moves from parts of experience to the whole of experience, and back and forth, in order to increase engagement and understandings (Annells, 1996; Polkinghorne, 1983). Heidegger believed that one views the end of this spiraling through a hermeneutic circle as occurring when one has reached a place of sensible meaning and free of inner contradictions (Kvale, 1996).

### **Hermeneutic Phenomenology**

Hermeneutic phenomenology addresses the lived experience from the perspective of meanings, understandings, and interpretations and is an inclusive, critical, and dialogical endeavor (Ablett & Dyer, 2009). Hermeneutic phenomenology and phenomenology have many similarities and striking differences. Dialogic processes refer to implied meaning in words uttered by a speaker and interpreted by a listener. The task of the hermeneutically inclined

researcher is to engage with and explore the aspects that shape one's understanding (Pernecky & Jamal, 2010).

Like phenomenology, hermeneutic phenomenology has its focus on the life world or human experience as it is lived. The focus is toward illuminating details and seemingly trivial aspects within experience that may be taken for granted in our lives, with a goal of creating meaning and achieving a sense of understanding (Wilson & Hutchinson, 1991). The way in which this exploration of lived experience proceeds is where Husserl and Heidegger disagree (Lavery, 2003). Husserl focuses on understanding beings or phenomena of the human world. Heidegger is more interested in the acts of attending, perceiving, recalling, and thinking about the world; and he believes consciousness is a formation of the lived experience.

Husserl and Heidegger both believed in the hermeneutic circle, which is a process of understanding text. One's understanding of the text as a whole is established by the reference to the individual parts: Each individual part is referenced to the whole and must be understood and referenced to each other, hence, the hermeneutic circle. Heidegger's interpretation of the hermeneutic circle supports that the meaning of the text must be found within its cultural, historical, and literary context. Heidegger placed emphasis on the historicity of understanding one's background or situatedness in the world (Koch, 1995).

### **Gadamer's Phenomenology**

Hans-George Gadamer was born in 1900 and was a philosophy student at Marburg and Albert Ludwigs University of Freiburg. He was influenced by the work of both Husserl and Heidegger and worked to extend Heidegger's work into practical application (Gadamer, 1976; Polkinghorne, 1983). Gadamer was focused on understanding and clarifying the conditions in which understanding takes place. Gadamer felt that hermeneutics must start with the researcher

seeking to understand something that they already have a bond with. Gadamer was in agreement with Heidegger in that language is the universal medium where understanding occurs and understanding requires interpretation of the phenomena. Gadamer viewed interpretation as a fusion of horizons, a dialectical understanding between the expectation of the interpreter and the meaning of the text (Polkinghorne, 1983). He believed that understanding and interpretation are bound together and interpretation of data is always an evolving process, thus a definitive interpretation is likely never possible (Annells, 1996).

Gadamer was emphatic that bracketing was not only impossible, but attempts to do so is absurd (Annells, 1996). He believed that all understandings are based on our historicity of being and all understandings will involve a level of prejudice. Gadamer did not believe that one can leave their immediate situation in the present merely by adopting an attitude (Lavery, 2003). In a hermeneutic study, adequacy of findings occurs when the whole process of inquiry is reflected upon, relative to the study (Hall & Stevens, 1991). This is achieved through use of reflexivity, which refers to circular relationships between cause and effect, especially as embedded in human belief structures. The construction of texts that are credible to the experience may then be understood by both insiders and outsiders with a coherence of research conclusions that accurately reflect the complexity of the study (Lavery, 2003). Credibility may also be described as how vivid and faithful the description of the experience is to the lived (Beck, 1993). When this occurs, the insight is self-validating and if well done, others will see the text as a statement of the experience itself (Husserl, 1970).

Gadamer advocated that hermeneutics should involve co-creation between the researcher and the participants in the production of meaning and should involve reflective readings, writing, and interpretations. Gadamer believed the researcher should search for understanding



from a particular philosophical perspective, as well as horizons from the participants and researcher. Hermeneutic research demands self-reflexivity, an on-going conversation about the experience while simultaneously living in the moment, actively constructing interpretations of the experience and questioning how those interpretations came about (Hertz, 1977). The use of a reflective journal is one way in which a hermeneutic circle can be engaged, moving back and forth between the parts and the whole of the text (Heidegger, 1962).

### **Phenomenology of Husserl, Heidegger, and Gadamer**

The phenomenology of Husserl, Heidegger, and Gadamer all share similarities. All sought to uncover the life world or human experience as it is lived (Lavery, 2003). They sought to reclaim what they believed was lost through empirical scientific explorations. Husserl focused more on the epistemological question of the relationship between the knower and the object of the study, whereas, Heidegger moved to the ontological question of the nature of reality and being in the world (Lavery, 2003).

Phenomenological research is descriptive and focuses on the lived experience with the goal of giving meaning to the life world. It seeks to elucidate the essences of those structures as they appear in consciousness to make their meaning more visible (Kvale, 1996; Osborne, 1994; Polkinghorne, 1983). Hermeneutic research is interpretative and concentrated on historical meanings of experience and their development and cumulative effects on individuals and social levels (Lavery, 2003). The interpretive process includes statements on the historical movements or philosophies that are guiding the interpretation, as well as presuppositions that motivate the individuals who make the interpretations (Barclay, 1992; Polkinghorne, 1983). Phenomenology can be described as foundationalist because it seeks a valid interpretation of texts that is not dependent upon the biographical, social, or historical position of the interpreter (Allen, 1995). In

contrast, hermeneutic phenomenology can be described as non-foundationalist, because it focuses on the meaning that arises from the interpretative interaction between historically produced texts and the researcher. While the focus and outcomes of the research, including data collection, subject selection, and the understanding of the lived experience may be similar, the position of the researcher, the process of the data analysis, and issues of rigor or credibility provide a striking contrast between these methodologies (Lavery, 2003).

### **Principles of Phenomenology and Oral History**

The principles of phenomenology have relevance for oral history (Mertin, 2014, p. 301). Oral history falls under the umbrella of phenomenology and it is the product of the interview situation – the memoir that is created when the interviewer meets the participants. It provides the substance of the lived experience adding the emotion of what it felt like with a vivid subjective description. Oral history is a means of exploring aspects of research that cannot be accessed using other sources or methods (Bartie & McIver, 2013).

Oral history gives voice to the marginalized, to those who have been hidden from history (Bartie & McIver, 2013). Gluck and Patai (1991) describe oral histories as a “way of recovering the voices of suppressed groups” (p.9). The elders interviewed will hold the power, for they are the ones in control of their story – and the researcher will be the listener or facilitator (Thomas, 2013, p. 245). When we listen with open hearts and open minds, we respect and honor the storytellers (Thomas, 2013, p. 244). Oral history revises history by naming and including their life experiences. Elder Indigenous knowledge is encoded in traditional practices and in the stories of their lives (Green, 2009; Stewart-Harawira, 2005). Oral history powerfully mediates the past and the present (Bartie & McIver, 2013). The life stories that are told will bring the past, future, and present together for now and future generations (Thomas, 2013, p. 253). Oral history

may serve as the first step in the decolonization process. The methodology of oral history will be used for this study.

### **Methodology for this Qualitative Study**

Gadamer's hermeneutic phenomenology provides the theoretical foundation for this study. I began this study with a process of self-reflection, including writing down my thoughts and assumptions. I became aware of my biases and assumptions. I gave considerable thought to my own experiences and thought how they might relate to the issues being researched. I kept a reflective digital journal and right after the interview documented my observations and thoughts about the experience. I printed off copies of the participant journal summaries and placed them with the interview transcripts.

I asked open-ended questions. They are located in Appendix B of this dissertation. The questions were first developed when taking the course Educational Foundations 678, Approaches to Educational Inquiry, with Dr. Warren Nishimoto, Director of the University of Hawai'i Mānoa Center for Oral History. The questions were further refined while developing my dissertation proposal with suggestions from my dissertation committee members. They were developed with the goal of eliciting information related to the phenomenon under study. The Puyallup Tribal Council also reviewed my questions and approved them prior to the interviews.

In most of the interviews, the questions were asked as written and the participant provide a logical response. In some of the interviews, the questions were asked, but the participant did not provide a logical response. In these cases, the participant determined what would be discussed and directed the conversation. There was one elder interviewed who consistently did not answer the questions that were asked. She talked about whatever was on her mind. Even though this occurred, she generally covered the topics from the questions, but in her own way. In

Chapter 4: The Puyallup Tribal Elder Stories, I tried to stay true to the way the participant answered the questions using their words. Sometimes the participants were not clear in the way they answered the questions. For example, one elder constantly referred her family members by using the pronouns he and she. It is hard for the listener and/or reader to know who she was referring to in her life story because the participant did not provide clarification. With this elder life story, I changed very little of what she said because to do so would change the essence of what she was trying to express.

Openness is critical and the exchange maybe entirely open, with few direct questions asked (Koch, 1996). The reason for this is to encourage the interview process to stay as close to the lived experience as possible (Laverty, 2003). It is important to try to get at what the participants really experienced. It is important to look for not only what is said, but what is said “between the lines,” and what is unsaid (Kvale, 1996). Sometimes, verbatim accounts do not capture all of what is really said. The researcher must pay attention to silence and to the absence of speaking. Within the silence of the unspeakable and the silence of being or life itself, as it is herein, that one may find the taken-for-granted or the self-evident (van Manen, 1997). These strategies were employed in the data analysis phase for this research project.

Data analysis for hermeneutic phenomenology often involves the participant and researcher working together in an ongoing conversation. It does not provide a set methodology. Understanding occurs through a fusion of horizons, which is a dialectic between the pre-understandings of the research process, the interpretative framework and the sources of information (Koch, 1995). Careful listening, reading, and writing are emphasized as a core to the production of meaning. On behalf of the researcher, there must be attentive listening to the ways that language is used by the participants. There cannot be determined procedures for the

interpretative process because interpretation arises from the pre-understandings and dialectic movement between the parts and the whole of the texts involved (Laverty, 2003). What is necessary is a commitment to understand the context of the dialogue or text and bring forth meaningful interpretations.

### **Safety and Trust with Participants**

The interview process for oral history data collection require an environment of safety and trust that must be established prior to the beginning of the study and maintained throughout the project. The interaction in the interview takes place within the context of a relationship, that is central to what is ultimately created (Polkinghorne, 1983). The presence of a caring relationship is central to this type of research exploration (Marcel, 1971). We must remember that it is within this relationship that the text or data will be generated and interpreted.

### **Participant Selection**

The aim in participant selection in both phenomenological and hermeneutic phenomenology research is to select participants who have lived the experience of the focus of the study, who are willing to talk about their experience, and who are diverse enough from each other to enhance possibilities of rich and unique stories of the particular experience (Polkinghorne, 1983; van Manen, 1997). The goal of phenomenological research is not to create results that can be generalized, but to understand the meaning of an experience of a phenomenon (Converse, 2012). The number of participants in a phenomenological study can be relatively small. Initially, the reason I decided to interview eight Puyallup tribal elders is because many years ago, the culture coordinator at Chief Leschi Schools, told me that eight is a special number in our culture. When she taught me to bead, she told me to always bead in patterns of eight or four. Choosing the number eight felt culturally congruent.

## **Saturation**

After conducting the interviews, I felt that I reached a natural saturation point. I noticed that I started to hear similar life story patterns and parallel themes in many of my participants. I sensed that little more would be gained from further data collection and there was a saturation of data (Saumure & Given, 2008). Even with this realization, I am sure the Puyallup Tribal Council would like to have had as many elders interviewed as possible, just to record their life stories for future generations.

## **Snowball and Purposeful Methodology**

My sampling selection strategy consisted of snowball, which is a purposeful method and may be defined as a technique for gathering research subjects through the identification of an initial subject who is used to provide the names of other subjects (Lewis-Beck, Bryman, & Futing, 2004). Snowball is a purposeful method for qualitative research.

I immediately thought of four Puyallup tribal elders to interview whom I thought would be information-rich about the phenomenon under study. I was not sure who else to interview, so I asked the Puyallup tribal council members for suggestions. I also posted descriptive informational flyers about my study on three heavily visited social media Puyallup tribal websites, along with my contact information. Tribal council members and community members recommended that I interview nine additional elders. I contacted all of the interview candidates and set up a time and location that was convenient for them. I interviewed a total of twelve Puyallup tribal elders. For this study, I selected the eight tribal elders who have lived the experience of the phenomenon under study and who seemed to be information-rich to be featured. I interviewed two sisters who were both information-rich, but I picked only one of them to be featured in my dissertation, because their life stories were so similar.

## **Length of Interview and Interview Recordings**

The average interview lasted 83 minutes per tribal elder. The longest interview lasted 207 minutes and the shortest interview lasted only 30 minutes. The interview that lasted only 30 minutes is significant. It was a short interview because the participant did not know very much about tribal history or culture. The first part of the interview focused on their life history. The second part of the interview focused on the participants' concrete details of their present lived experience in the topic area of study. The participants were provided time for reflection on the meaning of their oral history experience. My intentions were to conduct the interviews in two sessions, one week apart. When I scheduled the interviews, all of the participants wanted to do the interview in one session. Of the twelve people interviewed, eight of them scheduled the interview to occur during their regular work hours, which is perhaps why they wanted it scheduled in one session. All eight of those participants work in full-time jobs for the Puyallup Tribe of Indians, who approved this study. Four of the participants are fully retired. Of those four, three of the interviews were conducted at their homes. One retired participant drove in and met us at the tribal council office.

All of the interviews were audio-recorded with a SONY digital voice recorder ICD-PX333. Three of the interviews were video-recorded with a SONY HD Video Recording Camcorder HDRCX405, because they agreed to be video recorded. The audio recordings were uploaded to the website <http://otranscribe.com/>. This is a free website, private, and secure. The website provides transcription services (e.g. audio playback with play, pause, rewind, fast-forward, slow down, and speed up). The digital voice and video recordings were stored in multiple drives.

## **Semi-Structured Interviews**

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the participants. I had a set of questions on an interview schedule, but the interviews were guided by the schedule rather than dictated by it (Smith & Osborn, 2003). I established rapport by following cultural protocol, which means beginning the interview with a description of my family lineage and tribal connections.

In a semi-structured oral history setting, the order of the questions holds less importance. The investigator may probe any area that seems interesting and follows the participant's interest or concerns (Smith & Osborn, 2003). It is possible that the participants might introduce completely new issues or concerns. The participants are considered the experiential experts on the subject. All participants were given maximum opportunity to tell their life history story. My role as the researcher was to facilitate and guide rather than dictate exactly what was to happen during the experience (Smith & Osborn, 2003).

## **Oral History Research Assistant**

This research project involved hiring oral history research assistant, Lianna Johnson. She is a member of the Puyallup Tribe of Indians and she is my daughter. She is a master of arts history student at Central Washington University and she has studied oral history research methodology. She attended all of the interviews, arranged the audio and/or video recording, transcribed the audio-recordings, and provided a list of what she felt were the significant themes that emerged for each of the interviewees. She carefully checked and rechecked each transcript for accuracy against the audio recording. She produced 238 pages of single-spaced transcribed pages. The participants were happy to meet my daughter and have her participate with the interviews. Tribal Council was supportive of having her work as my assistant.



## **Informed Consent**

In-depth interviewing is not risk free (Seidman, 2013, p. 63). It is possible that participants might share aspects of their lives that might cause discomfort and even some degree of emotional distress. Participants have a right to be protected against all possible harm in the process of the interview. Informed consent is the first step in minimizing the risks that participants face when they agree to be interviewed (Seidman, 2013, p. 64). Participants must know enough about the research to be able to determine if they want to participate. Meeting this standard is the logic of administering informed consent. Seidman (2013) explained:

The informed consent plan should contain eight parts: (1) an invitation to participate with a clear description of what the interview will be like, (2) potential risks involved, (3) participant rights, (4) possible benefits, (5) the plan for confidentiality of records, (6) the dissemination plan, (7) contact information, and a (8) copy of the form. (p. 64)

The approved informed consent plan for this study can be found in Appendix B. The informed consent signed forms were scanned and kept in a secured drop box. The original signed documents are kept in a locked cabinet in a secure room and building at all times.

## **Permissions**

Permission for this study was first granted by the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, Institutional Review Board. This study was also approved by the Puyallup Tribe of Indians, Tribal Council because it involves research with our elders. After permission was granted, interviews were scheduled. The informed consent form for this study was approved by the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, Institutional Review Board and signed by all eight study participants.

## **Confidentiality of Records**

Seidman (2013) wrote in his book, *Interviewing as Qualitative Research*, “Keeping material confidential means that no one sees it other than the interviewer, and this promise is consistent with the purpose of in-depth interviewing” (p. 72). However, my interview participants did not have their identities held in confidence. The Puyallup Tribe of Indians Tribal Council members signed a Council Determination Report (CDR) that stated this research project would identify participants. The Puyallup Tribal Council hoped our elders would have their interview video-recorded in addition to being audio-recorded. Upon completion of this study, this dissertation, the audio and video-recordings, and verbatim transcripts from the interviews will be held at the Puyallup Tribal Historical Preservation Office, in Fife, Washington and will be made available to the tribal community and general public.

## **Data Analysis**

Field notes by the researcher are crucial in qualitative research (Lofland & Lofland, 1999). It is recommended that field notes be written no later than the morning after the interview. Four types of field notes were made: a) observational notes, b) theoretical notes (attempts to derive meaning while reflecting on the experience), c) methodological notes (reminders, instructions, and critiques), and d) analytical memos (end-of-interview summaries). Utilizing detailed field notes that are non-judgmental with thick descriptions help to improve the validity of a study (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). A thick description results when the researcher describes the context as well as the behavior.

## **Emergent Themes and Deep Themes**

As the transcripts were studied, emergent themes were noted on the right-hand side of the paper. On the left-hand side of the paper, what the participant said that was interesting or

significant was documented. The themes were not selected purely on the basis of their prevalence within the data. Other factors such as richness of the passages, and how they help illuminate the phenomenon under study were considered (Smith & Osborn, 2003). Some of the themes were categorized as either “Emergent Themes” or “Deep Themes.” These concepts will be explained in Chapter 5: The Findings, Deep Themes, and Discussion.

### **Explication of the Data**

The phenomenology explication process consists of five coding phases: 1) Bracketing and phenomenological reduction, 2) Delineating units of meaning, 3) Clustering of units of meaning to form themes, 4) Summarizing each interview, validating it, and where necessary modifying it, and 5) Extracting general and unique themes from all the interviews and making a composite summary (Groenewald, 2004). As noted earlier, this is a hermeneutic phenomenological study. Therefore, bracketing was not supposed to be performed. It will be described in Chapter 5 that the results from this study were not what I expected. The results were so contrary to what I thought would happen, I was thrown into a place of disequilibrium. Prior to the data collection, I thought I knew what the participants would say based on my own historicity. I found that I had to bracket and perform phenomenological reduction, in order to understand the findings and make sense of them. I now understand why Husserl felt that bracketing is an important step. I think it depends on the particulars of the study, historicity of the researcher, and the data collected, as to if phenomenological reduction needs to be performed.

Heidegger supports that pre-understandings are not something we can put aside or bracket, because these understandings are already a part of us. As previously discussed, Heidegger supports that every encounter involves an interpretation that is influenced by the

researcher's background or historicity (Laverty, 2003). Clustering was performed. This is the separating of qualitative data into classes and categories. After the data is clustered, a representative word or phrase needs to be assigned (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2013, p. 279). Clustering is also understood to be a process of moving to higher levels of abstraction. The adequacy of the study findings will occur when the whole process of inquiry is reflected upon, relative to the phenomenon under study (Hall & Stevens, 1991).

### **Researcher's Role in Studying the Text**

I listened repeatedly to the audio recording to become familiar with the words, intonation, and feelings of the participant to develop a holistic sense (Holloway, 1997; Hycner, 1999). A line-by-line analysis of the transcript was carefully studied and reflected upon to classify the words, thoughts, and feeling into themes. This allowed me to find patterns in the text, placing those pieces of text into meaningful categories and themes (Patton, 2002). The themes that emerged are identified in Chapter 5: The Results, Deep Themes, and Discussion.

### **Deeper Qualitative Analysis Strategies**

A systematic coding and categorizing approach was used to explore large amounts of textual information to ascertain the frequency, trends, and patterns of words and phrases used in a text (Kaomea, 2017). In qualitative research, a lot of counting goes on in the explication process. When we identify a theme or a pattern, we are isolating something that happens a certain number of times or consistently in a certain way. When we decide that something in the data is important, significant, or recurrent, we must count or make comparisons. When analyzing data, there are three good reasons to count: (a) to determine what is evident in a large batch of data, (b) to verify a hunch, and (c) to keep our data analysis honest and protect against bias (Miles et al., 2013, p. 282).

Additional deeper qualitative content analysis strategies included: a) constant comparison, b) mahiki, c) unsaid and the silences, d) reading erasures, e) looking for negative evidence, and f) rhizoanalysis. Constant comparison is a content analysis strategy in which the data is constantly compared to data previously gathered (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007). Pertinent concepts are identified and assigned codes. These codes are constantly reviewed as new interpretations are made of the data. The researcher keeps an open mind and uses an intuitive process in interpreting data. The researcher identifies concepts and their relationships and determines if any similar associations have been uncovered (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007). Mahiki is a Hawaiian word that means to pry, peel off, or to try to make something appear (Kaomea, 2017). With qualitative data analysis, mahiki would involve peeling away the outer layers of actions or emotions to try to understand the underlying motivations, feelings, and causes (Pakui, Haertig, & Lee, 1972).

The use of mahiki analysis is described in the results section for one of my participants. I had to pry, peel off, and try to understand why one of my participants has had a life filled with alcoholism, drug addiction, feelings of despair, and three suicide attempts. I was able to derive from my participant that she believes her lifetime of depression and negative life choices was due to newly discovered childhood sexual molestation that occurred by a family member. When we got to this point in our conversation, I told her that our interview was completed. I turned off the audio-recorder. I told her that we could keep the conversation going if she wanted to. We talked for at least twenty minutes after the audio-recorder was turned off. I have a master's degree in school counseling, and I have had training in how to conduct counseling sessions. The participants and I are both spiritual people and when we were done talking she held my hand and we said a prayer together. I am confident that she has an excellent counselor at the Puyallup

Tribal Health Authority (PTHA). The director of mental health at PTHA, Dr. Reed, is a friend of mine. I have complete confidence that Dr. Reed would employ only the best.

The “unsaid and the silences” in qualitative data analysis is what is omitted or unsaid in the conversation. Pierre Macherey (1978) stated, “What is important in qualitative work is what it does not say. We investigate the silence, for it is the silence that does the speaking” (p. 86). We must distinguish between two types of textual omissions: That which remains unsaid because it is so obvious that it need not be said, and that which is unsaid because it is so horrifying that it cannot be said (Tobin, 2000, p. 146). One of my participants conveyed “the unsaid” during his interview and will be described in the findings section. I compared and contrasted his silence with other participants, which is a key step in this analysis strategy.

Reading erasures is related to the “unsaid and silences.” In qualitative data analysis, we must uncover the literal erasures and probe more deeply into situations, emotions, or perspectives that have been erased figurately or metaphorically (Kaomea, 2017). Reading erasures were evident in the oral history data from one of my participants. I had to try to understand what was erased and “read between the lines.” Although speech is often the focus of qualitative research, what is not said or erased may be as revealing as what is said (Poland & Pederson, 1998).

The data was analyzed to “look for negative evidence.” When a preliminary conclusion is at hand, I will asked myself, “Does any of the data oppose the conclusion?” I tried to find disconfirmation of what I thought was true. Negative evidence might be an outlier, which are the exceptions. An outlier could be a person who has a strong bias. Outliers are not only people, they can be atypical settings or unusual events (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2013). Outliers can strengthen findings and help build a better explanation.

The word “rhizome” is a botanical term for a root system that spreads across the ground rather than downward. It grows from several points rather than a single tap root. The qualitative analysis strategy of rhizoanalysis is derived from the word rhizome. Professor Julie Kaomea (2017) explained:

In rhizoanalysis, the metaphor of the rhizome is used to demonstrate that behaviors or events do not have a single underlying cause, but instead, are influenced by multiple factors that interact dynamically, laterally, and intermittently. It suggests that the root causes (and likewise the solutions) of problems are often much more entangled and complicated than they appear on the surface. (Kaomea, 2017, slide 11)

When thinking about the participant life events, the behaviors or life choices were oftentimes influenced by drug addiction and/or alcoholism. Five of eight, or 62.5% of the study participants self-revealed they are recovering alcoholics. None of them were asked anything related to alcohol or substance use, but the subject was brought up by the participants because they viewed it as a significant event that influenced their lives in negative ways. Psychological models of American Indian drinking propose that alcohol use can be a form of self-medication for problems and emotional distress (Cain, 2007). Alcohol use has also been described as an unproductive coping practice which is likely the result of feelings of unresolved grief caused by the legacy of historical trauma (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998). Cultural theories assert that difficulty coping with historical trauma and cultural losses have influenced people to drink alcohol to manage painful emotions (Cain, 2007). Using rhizoanalysis, the metaphor of the rhizome can be alcohol or drug addiction and the root cause would likely be caused by historical trauma. The solution for the problem of alcohol and drug addiction is much more entangled and

complicated than it appears on the surface. Rhizoanalysis was a strategy used to analyze the hermeneutic phenomenological oral history findings.



## **CHAPTER 4**

### **THE PUYALLUP TRIBAL ELDER STORIES**

#### **Shirley Satiacum – Her Story**

Shirley Marie Satiacum (see Figure 2) was born in Tacoma, Washington in 1934. She recently turned 84 years-old. Her mother's name was Ara Reed Satiacum and her father's name was Chester Satiacum. Her mother was enrolled Yakama and her father was enrolled Puyallup. Her mother's mother was Dora Frederick Reed married to Joseph Reed. Her father's mother was Hazel Satiacum. Her grandparents lived with her when she was young. Shirley grew up with five siblings, three girls and two boys. Shirley said she is the only one left. She grew up in the Puyallup valley across from a dairy farm.

Figure 2

**Shirley Satiacum**



(Kivalahula-Uddin, 2018)

*Figure 2.* Shirley Satiacum at her home on the day of the interview.

Shirley said her grandfather was Chief Charlie Satiacum (the same name as her father), and he had passed away long ago. A memory she has is one day she was at home and looked up at a picture of an old white-haired man featured on the wall. She asked her mother, “Who is that old man in the picture?” Her mother explained, “That’s your grandfather, Chief Charlie Satiacum.” Puzzled, she asked her mother, “How come he’s not wearing any feathers?” Shirley said, “He wasn’t dressed like an Indian, like the old Indians on the signs and stuff. He was wearing jeans, you know, Levis and a shirt in the picture.” She laughed when she told this story. She expected him to have feathers on.

She remembers as a child her father fishing and working as a logger in Ocean City. Her parents also worked on the ships in Seattle. They did riveting for airplane and ship parts. She had a sister named Elma. She worked at Fort Lewis, which is an Army post near Tacoma. She worked at the non-commissioned officer’s club or NCO club and for the United Service Organization (USO). Her brother, Chief Robert Satiacum, started out working as a fisherman before moving on to work with the tribe. A proud memory of him is that he started the first Puyallup tribal powwow. Shirley loved to put on her regalia and dance at the Puyallup Tribal powwow and other powwows.

One morning when she was 21 years old her father came to see her as the sun was beginning to rise. He gave her keys to a small cabin to live in, because her parents were moving to a larger cabin. She didn’t realize this would be the last time she would see her father. He died in a logging accident later that day when a tree fell on him and crushed him.

During her lifetime, Shirley has had many jobs. Her first job was at the Chemawa Indian Boarding School. She was in the ninth grade. They assigned her to work in the kitchen. She had these duties when she was not in class. After she grew up, she worked at The Salmon House and

was the manager. The business bought and sold fish and clams. For a several years, she worked at Chief Leschi Schools as a hall monitor and a fifth-grade teacher assistant. For a while, she worked as a waitress at a Mexican restaurant with her sister, Elma. She also sold fireworks every year around the fourth of July with many other Puyallup tribal members. She did mention,

“When I was a child I dreamt of someday being a nurse or a doctor, but it just wasn’t to be.”

While she was employed, she raised five of her grandchildren and one foster child. Shirley said that she had to raise her grandchildren, because her own children were off living their lives.

### **Tribal and Cultural Memories**

When Shirley was asked to describe what cultural experiences she remembers, she fondly told the stories of being with her father when he was carving out his canoe and going fishing with him for smelt, up near Queets. She said sometimes while her father worked, she would run and catch the waves. She helped her dad fill the nets with smelt. Her brothers, Chester and Buddy also helped. She remembers the buckets were heavy with fish, and she would have to drag the buckets along the ground and help wash the fish. After they were cleaned she put them in boxes and prepare them for mailing. She remembers having to carry the boxes up a steep hill to the highway, about half a mile. She had to walk carefully, so she didn’t fall back down the hill. This is a fond memory for Shirley. She seemed radiate when she shared the story.

Shirley remembers that her mother often prepared salmon for the family for dinner. Her mother often fried the salmon or made soup with it. A favorite dish was salmon soup. It was prepared with fish heads, tails, and eggs. Her mother would put all of it in a big pot and prepare fish soup for them.

Shirley remembers being active in the fishing rights protests of the 1970s. This is commonly referred to as the Fishing Wars. She remembers going to Seattle, demonstrating, and

holding up signs in front of the Seattle courthouse. She did this to support her Uncle Bob Satiacum, and to be a part the Fishing Wars movement. She remembers participating in protests with family members and other Indians from our tribe, including Marlon Brando on the Puyallup River near the 11<sup>th</sup> Street Bridge. She said she was arrested and put in jail for a few days. She also said they put seven and eight-year-old children in jail too. At the time, she was working as a cook at the protest camp, and they were all arrested. She remembers army helicopters flying in to help the police with the arrests. The police were parked alongside the road near where they were, and they stopped every car that drove by.

Her family was deeply involved with the Fishing Wars because everyone in her family participated in fishing for their livelihood, and everyone had their own boat. She recalls being out in the water on Puget Sound fishing and a storm would come up. It was a terrifying experience. She didn't know if they would survive the storms they encountered, thankfully, the fishing nets helped keep their boats stable on the water, so they wouldn't sink.

Shirley was never involved in traditional Puyallup medicine. However, much later in life, when working for Chief Leschi Schools, she participated in cleansings at the school with Doby, a highly regarded medicine man from the Tulalip tribe.

The Puyallup Indian School was also known as the Cushman Indian School and it opened its doors as a boarding school in 1860 near the intersection of East 29th Street and Portland Avenue in Tacoma, Washington (Schoenberg, 1987). The Cushman Indian School was in operation from the 1860s to the 1920s, and later became the Cushman Indian Hospital from the 1920s to the 1960s (Santiago, 2010). Throughout Shirley's life she heard stories about the Cushman Indian Hospital. She had heard that the Puyallup (and neighboring tribal children) went to that hospital when they were sick and many died. She said, "I heard that they burned the

bodies of the sick children downstairs in an incinerator. They pushed the bodies in there and burned them up. I was always afraid to go down there.” I agree with Shirley, I have always heard this story too, from many reliable sources during my life. I know many people who have said they were afraid to be near that building, when it existed.

### **Indian Boarding Schools, Family Separation, and Family Life**

For kindergarten and part of first grade, Shirley attended Hawthorne school in Tacoma. At the age of six, during first grade, Shirley’s mother sent her and her siblings to Chemawa Indian Boarding School in Oregon. The year was 1940. Her brother Bob and sister Elma started going to Chemawa the year before she did. Shirley said she had to take the train to Chemawa and it was scary being there because she didn’t know anyone. The first thing they did was cut their hair off, and they all had long beautiful hair.

In our Puyallup culture, long hair is revered for both men and women. We are supposed to cut our hair when someone in our family dies. We do this as an act to demonstrate we are in mourning. It must have been disturbing for the Puyallup children to have to have their hair cut off when no one in their family died.

Shirley described what it was like to live in Chemawa:

Well, we got up in the morning, cleaned ourselves up, changed, we'd line up, all the girls, the older girls stayed in one building they called Winona Hall. The other building for the younger girls was McBride. The boys had their own side of the campus. They all stayed across the campus at McNairy Hall, it was the big boys' building. I can't remember the name of the little boys' building. After we all got ready, we would go eat breakfast. The bell would ring and that meant we all to go downstairs and line up by the door. The bell would ring again and then we would march over to the dining hall. There was an old guy in charge of the dining hall. I can't remember his name. All the girls sat

on one side of the dining hall and the boys sat on the other side. They had both big boys and little at each table. The big boys had to take care of the little boys and make sure they ate. It was the same for the girls.

In the middle of the night the train came in, and the Navajo students came. She remembers it very clearly because of the clothes they wore. They dressed in beautiful floor-length silk skirts and blouses and wore moccasins. She said the Navajo were treated differently. They could wear their special clothes, moccasins, and were allowed to speak their language. The other students who were not Navajo were not allowed to speak their language. The Navajo students just talked to each other because they could not speak any English. She said the Navajo students learned English in the classes they took at Chemawa. The Navajo students did not have to have their hair cut. They were the only tribe who were allowed to keep their hair long. She never knew why the Navajo had special privileges. In the next sentence, she smiled softly as she told me about the boy from Canada that she “went with,” and the Navajo boy too.

Shirley attended Chemawa Indian Boarding School every year, except for one year that her father kept her home to work. She said her dad feared he would be punished for not sending her to boarding school, so he sent her the following year. She attended Chemawa until half-way through the tenth grade, then she went home to help her dad with work. Shirley said her dad needed help fishing, smelting, and clam digging. Shirley said, “I had to go. I never went back to school after that.”

There was a store half-a-mile away from Chemawa called “Kick-Back.” On the weekends, Shirley used to walk to the store with her friends to buy things. During the time Shirley lived at Chemawa, she often got lonely for her family and her home. Four times she ran away. One time when she was in the eighth grade she decided she would run away with her

cousin Joanne, and three other girls. They decided they were going home. They pretended they were going to Kick-Back to buy things, but they were really running away. They took off and started walking toward Portland. Shirley told her story:

We got, um, just on this side of Portland and it was at late at night. There was a car coming upon us. We took off and ran to the ditch. We tried to hide. This cop seen us. I seen this guy and his headlights. He stopped right above us, where we were at. He shined his lights down on us. It was a policeman. Oh my God! He said, ‘Come on you guys, get up here. I know who you are. Come here, Shirley!’ He knew my name! He knew all of our names. He took us to the hospital to get examined to see if anyone was messing around with us, hurting us. Then they put us to bed at the hospital and we went back to Chemawa the next day. We were never allowed to go to Kick-Back again.

This was Shirley’s most successful attempt at running way. The distance between Chemawa and Portland is 42 miles. The other times, she didn’t get very far. She would run across an adjacent plowed-up field and the Chemawa security car would be there waiting to pick her up. Shirley said she ran away all those times because she felt a deep sense of loneliness, and the feeling never went away. She said, “I always wanted to go home.”

Shirley said that her mother attended St. George’s Industrial School, but it was normally just referred to as St. George’s Indian School (Schoenberg, 1987). It was a residential Indian boarding school. The children received the rudiments of a secular education and the developmental seeds of true Christianity (Schoenberg, 1987). The Indian boarding school was located just outside the northern border of the Puyallup Reservation. It was just north of the Pierce County– King County boundary and due east of Highway 99. Shirley explained what it was like for her mother at St. George’s Indian School:

She didn't like it at the boarding school. They were mean to her and mean to all the kids. They were very strict and spanked their hands with rulers. They cut their hair. I don't know why they cut such beautiful hair off. They had to wear uniforms. It was a boarding school just like Chemawa.

Shirley said she thought her mother got the idea to send her to Chemawa because she had been sent to St. George's. Her mother was busy making airplane and ship parts. Shirley said, "My mother had to do something with us kids, so she sent us to Chemawa." Growing up in a boarding school was the life that Shirley's mother knew: It became the life that Shirley would have to live – a life of being separated from her parents, family members, culture, and her elders. It was a life void of positive Indian role models and a life without the love of family.

### **Loss of Culture and Language as a Child**

Shirley said as a child she never spoke her Native language, and she does not remember ever hearing her parents speak it. She did remember hearing her grandmother Dory and grandpa Joe speak the language. They are the only two people she recalls hearing speak the language. The only other times she heard people speak their Native language was at Chemawa: She heard the Navajo children talk to each other in their language. Shirley said she never learned her own language but learned to speak some Navajo words from her friends at Chemawa. She said when she returned home in the summer time, she sometimes spoke Navajo. She said, "I wish I could have spoken my own language, but my parents did not speak it, and I never learned it."

See Figure 3 for emergent themes.



Figure 3



*Figure 3.* Themes that emerged from Shirley's interview.

### **Teresa Harvey – Her Story**

Teresa Harvey (see Figure 4) was born in Tacoma, Washington. She is 66 years-old. Her father was Earl McCloud, a Puyallup tribal member. His father was George McCloud. Her mother was Marjorie Gleason, and her father was Earnest Gleason from the Quinault tribe. Her mother was Wah-lecht-la-tush, from the Chehalis tribe. Wah-lecht-la-tush's father worked as a fisherman and her mother stayed at home. Wah-lecht-la-tush's father's parent was also a fisherman. His parents raised 11 children, and none of them attended boarding schools. Her mother's family had two children who attended boarding school at the Puyallup Indian School, which became known as Cushman Indian School in 1927. Teresa said, "My auntie Elma was the first to go to Cushman, and she did not have any good stories to tell about the boarding school." Teresa's mother also attended a boarding school.

Figure 4

**Teresa Harvey**



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*Figure 4.* Teresa Harvey and a Salish cedar hat. Picture taken May 2018.

### **Indian Boarding Schools, Family Separation, Family Life**

Teresa remembered a family story about her grandmother Rose. She was a strong woman. The Bureau of Indian Affairs employed agents and it was their job to ensure all native children attended school (Adams, 1995). Grandmother Rose used to load up all of her children when she knew the Indian school agents were coming through in late August and early September. She moved her family down the river and they camped there for a month. When grandmother Rose felt all of the agents were finished and it was safe, she gathered up her children and moved them back home. She did not want her children at a boarding school.

**Parental neglect and boarding schools.** Teresa said when she was growing up, her mother did not express love to her. Her mother did not touch her or ever tell her that she loved

her. As a child and young adult, she deeply felt the loss of her mother's love, and she felt anger towards her mother because of the way she was treated. Teresa said she never understood why her mother treated her this way. Finally, one day when she was in her early 20's, Teresa decided she had had enough of her mother's negative treatment. One day she went to her mother who was now in her 50s and exclaimed, "Just say you love me! Say it! I want to hear you say it!" Her mother could not say the words.

Finally, Teresa's mother sat down and said, "Well, there are some things that happened to me when I was a little girl." She went on to explain to Teresa her life story of what had happened. Gramps was a widower (Teresa's mother's father), and he had five kids to raise. When the two oldest were in first and second grade, he decided to send them to boarding school, which would allow him to go over to Yakima to work. At the boarding school, Teresa's mother was mistreated by the adults who ran the school. One day Teresa's aunt had gotten sick. She went to see the nurse and the nurse exclaimed, "No room. It's locked. It's closed. Go back to your dorm." She explained that there was nowhere to go. So, she took her sister outside alongside a building, laid her down, and put her head in her lap. She put her coat on her and comforted her. Teresa said this story always made her sad, because she realized her mother didn't have any parents to take care of her or aunt. Her mother and her siblings had to take care of each other.

### **Loss of Indigenous Identity**

Teresa told the story about her mother's experiences at the boarding school. She was punished if she spoke her language and they were raised to be ashamed that they were Native. This affected the way Teresa's mother parented her. Teresa said on her first day of school when she was a little girl, her mother bent over and said to her, "If they ask you if you are Indian, tell

them ‘no.’” Teresa looked at her mother and then looked at her dad, and he said, “Do it.” Teresa said she realized later it was her mother’s way of protecting her. Teresa assumed her mother thought, “If we ever got back to where they were rounding the children up again in September, then they wouldn’t be able to take the kids, because they weren’t Indian.” Teresa recalls her mother saying, “Just tell them you’re not Indian, you’re not an Indian, you’re not an Indian.” Teresa said those words were intentionally given to her from her mother when she was a child to make her feel ashamed and negated. Teresa said, “Our identity was stripped from us because we had to pretend that we were not Native. We had to pretend like we’re gonna grow up in this society like a white person.”

### **Loss of Culture and Language as a Child**

Teresa said she did not participate in her culture as a child because her mother didn’t allow it. When Teresa was a child, she rarely heard our Native language. She heard her uncles speak it, just a little. She heard them greet each other in the language, and that was it. Her husband though, was able to communicate in his Native language with his mother. Teresa became aware of her culture when she was in high school through a Native counselor.

### **Tournament Baseball Games as a Social and Cultural Outlet**

Teresa’s dad was a baseball coach, which influenced her to participate in baseball and eventually become a coach too. Baseball tournaments were one way that Indian people got to be around other Indian people. Every year there were regular baseball tournaments. Her dad’s baseball team included his brothers and friends from the community. The baseball tournaments occurred in Chehalis every year over Memorial Day weekend. It was called Tribal Days. This event provided her an opportunity to see salmon cooked over an open flame with our traditional ways of cooking. She also saw clams cooked in a pit. Baseball tournaments also occurred on the

Fourth of July in Taholah, and over Labor Day in Puyallup. The different reservations all hosted a baseball tournament.

### **Internalized Oppression**

Teresa observed internalized oppression with her mother. She said, “My mother had her biases. My mom said to me,

When you have my funeral, I just want you to have Ben Charles sing me a nice song, say a few words, and that will be it. Don’t sing your Indian songs. Don’t you let Sonny do Shaker. I am not a Catholic, so don’t you let Diana bury me a Catholic. I am not a Catholic.

Teresa responded with, “Okay mom. I won’t sing my Indian songs.” Teresa felt that her mother never really healed from the harm caused by attending an Indian boarding school. The internalized oppression ran very deep within her mother – she was ashamed of her heritage.

When Teresa told me about what her mother said about planning her funeral, it reminded me of a similar conversation I had with my mother. My mother is 85 years-old and was removed from her Native home when she was seven years old and put in to foster care with a White woman to be raised. My mother spoke only Indian when she went to live with Mrs. Tobin. She immediately learned English after she got into school. Many decades ago, she forgot how to speak her Native language. She barely remembers speaking it, but she knows she did. She recalls having innumerable conversations with her grandmother: Her grandmother did not speak English. A few years ago one evening my mother said to me,

Some day when you plan my funeral, don’t you let those Indians come with their drums and bells. Don’t let them sing their songs. I do not want anything Indian at my funeral, absolutely nothing. I want only Christian songs, nothing Indian. Make sure of it.”

Teresa's mother and my mother both suffered from deep internalized oppression and their actions indicated a cultural erasure. Our elders need to learn about cultural trauma and realize how it has influenced, affected, and harmed our people, so that we will not further perpetuate oppression within our families and communities. One of the most destructive and insidious consequences of colonialism is when the colonized begins to think, feel, and act like the colonizer (David, 2013). Some of the earliest writings on this subject came from DuBois in 1903 when he described a "double-consciousness" of looking at one's self and measuring one's worth through the eyes of the others (David, 2011; David & Okazaki, 2006; Padilla, 2001, Pyke & Dang, 2003). Internalized oppression exists within self-defeating thoughts, the lack of connectedness to one's ancestral family, the spirit, the self, the family, the extended family, the community, the nation, the environment, and many others (David, 2013). The most treacherous of all forms, is when we begin to believe the systematic oppression and turn our backs on our own Indigenous cultural ways (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998; Simard & Blight, 2011). This is what our mothers have done.

### **Encouragement and Discouragement of Education**

Teresa remembers a time when her Gramps encouraged her with her education. Gramps words of advice were, "If you are going to survive in this world, you're gonna have to be educated. You're gonna have to work hard." Teresa said these thoughts were instilled within her and helped her to always have a strong work ethic. Her mother also encouraged her with her education, even though their home had no books. Teresa loved to read and had to check out her books from the library. Teresa's mother said, "You have to prove yourself to people. You have to be smart and know what you can do. You have to work a job." Teresa said during her life she

has felt the need to prove herself and be capable and tough. Her desire to become a teacher and be successful was very strong.

### **Healing from Historical Trauma**

Teresa said, “Some of our elders have never had an opportunity to heal. They still carry a lot of their issues. Some of them do not understand why it is hard for them to come to school. Some of them haven’t had the opportunity to heal from the whole process of being scared of schools.” Teresa believes that many of our elders do not have an understanding of what intergenerational historical trauma is, and that we actually have it. She thinks they need to learn about it and have an awareness of it for healing to occur.

Teresa said that her mother had a deep fear of expressing love to her children. Teresa explained this occurred because her mother did not receive love from her family members when she was growing up at the Indian boarding school. Her mother was not able to express love to her own children because she did not receive love when she was a child. Finally, one day when Teresa’s mother was in her 50s, her adult children gathered together did an intervention. They simply told her that she would not be allowed to treat them like that anymore. They explained to her that they understood why she felt she could not express love, but that action was a choice, and they would not accept that behavior anymore. They insisted that their mother utter the words, “I love you.” Her mother finally said the words and a healing occurred within her. Teresa’s mother went on to live to the age of 96, and they had her love the last forty years of her life.

Teresa said her father never had problems expressing love to his children because he did not attend Indian boarding schools. She said, “My dad was never sent to bed hungry, sent to bed

without a hug, and people in the family met his needs. Whereas my mother's needs were never met when she was a child and she carried all of her pain into adulthood."

Three years ago, I facilitated a full-day "Native Voices Dissertation Advisory Group" meeting comprised of Puyallup tribal elders, community elders, and the Chief Leschi Schools' culture teachers. There were about 10 elders in attendance for the meeting. The purpose of the meeting was to seek their thoughts about what direction I should go with my dissertation. We discussed our own life experiences with intergenerational historical trauma. People were very candid and the life stories they shared were powerful. At this meeting, Teresa shared her story about her mother and passionately described how the loss of her mother's love affected her feelings of self-worth and life, especially as a child and young adult. Her story left a powerful and indelible mark in our minds and hearts as her words and voice filled the room with a cloud of sadness and everyone's eyes were filled with tears. Almost all of the participants had a parent or grandparent who attended an Indian boarding school, and they each shared a story from their lives describing how they felt a lack of love from the person who raised them, whether it be their mother, father, or extended family member. Just this small sampling of Indian elders who gathered for this meeting is indicative of poor parenting skills and family life distress. The lack of parental love expressed to our Native children is perhaps the deepest heart-wound we have had to heal from.

The National Indian Child Welfare Association (NICWA) has developed a program titled, *Positive Indian Parenting*. It is an 8-10 week Native American and Alaska Natives' parenting curriculum that provides a practical and culturally specific training that helps parents explore positive values, attitudes, and child-rearing practices in a culturally responsive way. The curriculum draws on the strengths of traditional Indian parenting practices, using storytelling,



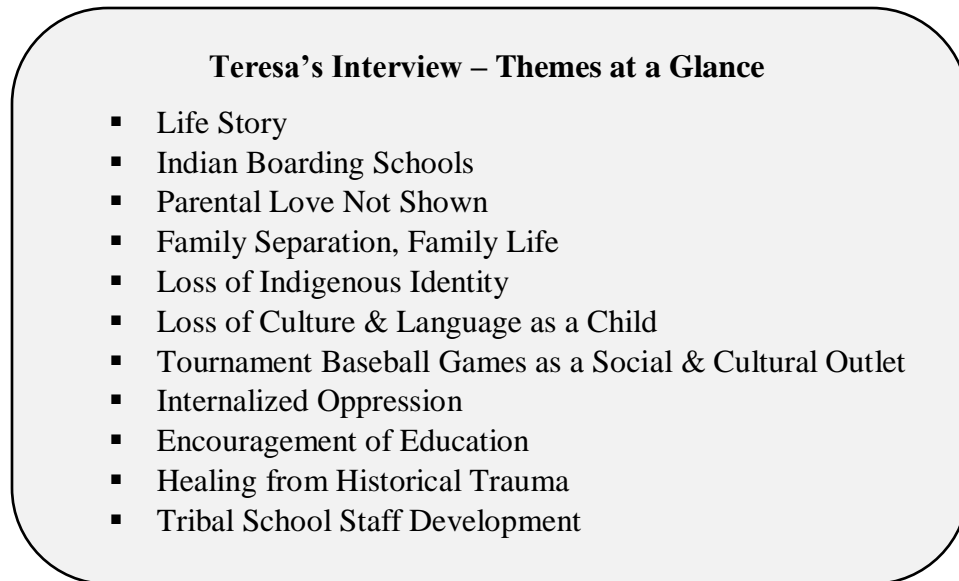
cradleboard, harmony, lessons of nature, behavior management, and the use of praise (Tribal Access to Justice Innovation, n.d.). This training addresses the historic impact of boarding schools, intergenerational trauma and grief, and forced assimilation. A goal of this training is to empower Indian families to reclaim their right to their heritage and to be positive parents. This program has been made available to the Puyallup tribal community by the Puyallup Tribal Health Authority, Behavioral Health Services Program. A training that discusses intergenerational historical trauma provided at any tribal school or tribal entity could implement sections from Positive Indian Parenting with permission from the NICWA. I have studied Positive Indian Parenting in-depth when I worked as a school administrator and used it with the Family and Child Education Program adults. I am highly supportive of it.

Decolonizing our minds involves learning about what happened in the boarding schools and understanding its negative influence on our parents' ability to provide a love-filled nurturing home. It is through education, new understandings, and a thoughtfully designed decolonization of the mind intervention plan that heart and soul wound healing may occur.

### **Tribal School Staff Development**

Teresa feels that more training should occur in cultural sensitivity. When talking about the non-Native staff at the school she said, "They don't get us. They don't understand our beliefs, for example, the part where elders always go first. One time I got up in the front of the line and one of the teachers said, 'She's crowding! She's going up to the front!'" I said to the administration, "You need to tell these teachers that they need to always let our elders go first." The administration explained to the staff what the expectations are for elders and the problem did not occur again that school year. She explained that the staff has turn-over every year, and there needs to be a training for new employees every fall. See Figure 5 below for emergent themes.

Figure 5



*Figure 5. Themes that emerged from Teresa's interview.*

### **Ramona Bennett – Her Story**

As a longtime leader for the Puyallup Tribe, Ramona Bennett (see Figure 6) has always been a force to be reckoned with (Wigren, 2017). In a search on her name at Google Scholar an article about her instantly appeared. The article, “American Indian Women’s Activism in the 1960s and 1970s,” by Donna Hightower Langston (2003) discusses Ramona Bennett. The author describes her activism during this time-period with Indian fishing rights. Ramona co-founded the Survival of American Indians Association in 1964, an organization that helped bring local “fish-ins” to national prominence (“Seattle Civil Rights,” n.d.). Fish-in protests began as a response to Washington state policy that tried to use state laws to restrict Indian fishing rights guaranteed by federal treaties (Langston, 2003).

Figure 6

**Ramona Bennett**



(Bennett, 2018) Used with permission.

*Figure 6.* Ramona Bennett, Puyallup tribal elder, former tribal council member, and activist. Picture taken in Tacoma, Washington.

The 1854 Medicine Creek Treaty guaranteed northwest Indian tribes unrestricted use of natural resources, an important right since fishing traditionally formed the basis of diets, culture, and spirituality (Ziegelman 1985). Ramona was a leader in the movement to secure fishing rights for the Puyallup tribe. In the fall of 1970, at the Puyallup fish-in camp, spokesperson Ramona Bennett was quoted as saying, “We are armed and prepared to defend our rights with our lives. If anyone lays a hand on that net, they are going to get shot, we’re serious. There are no blanks in our guns” (Ziegelman, 1985).

Ramona was elected to the Puyallup Tribal Council in 1968, and elected as Tribal Chairwoman in 1971, a position she held until 1978 (“Seattle Civil Rights,” n.d.). Ramona said, “In addition to fishing rights advocacy, I was one of the leaders for the takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building at the Department of Interior in Washington DC in 1972, which happened by accident.” She had gone to Washington D.C. on a field trip with students and they happened to fall into a protest situation. The details for this experience is described in the interview transcript, which can be found in the appendix of this document.

Ramona was also one of the primary leaders of the takeover of Cushman Hospital, also known as Cascadia, in 1976. I was a junior in high school on the day of the takeover. The phone rang that morning, and it was Ramona Bennett calling my mother. She said, “We are having a tribal meeting at Cascadia. You need to come up here.” At the time, we lived an hour away. My mother told me to get my shoes on, we were driving up to the tribal meeting at Cascadia. We had no idea what we were in for. We drove up and parked. My mother was horrified to see a line-up of Indians with their rifles pointed. They wanted us to take a gun and join-in. My mother exclaimed, “We are getting out of here! Get in the car!” My mother did not want us to be a part of this violent protest. Being there, even for a short while, is a memory that will stay with me for the rest of my life. When I told Ramona that I was there that day and saw the guns, she nodded her head and smiled.

Much of Ramona’s work was focused on social welfare for the Indians of Puget Sound. Ramona said, “The other members of council: Don, Maiselle, Alice, and Clyus were interested in land acquisition, but I was all about program services. I wanted to get a medical clinic, treatment program, and school for our tribe.” In 1978, she developed a model for childhood and family services for Washington state, which was instrumental in helping her secure the National Indian

Child Welfare Act (NICWA) for Indian children and their families. In the 1980s, she co-founded the Rainbow Youth and Family Services program, a Tacoma-based non-profit that provided assistance with placing Indian youth foster children with Indian families. These events are only some of the highlights of the social welfare work she has accomplished in her lifetime.

Ramona graduated from Franklin High School on Rainier Avenue in Seattle in 1956. She has a bachelor's degree from the Evergreen State College and a master's degree in Counseling Education from the University of Puget Sound. In 1981, Ramona received an honorary Doctor of Public Affairs from the University of Puget Sound. In 2003, the Native Action Network awarded her with its Enduring Spirit Award, given to a Native woman who does outstanding work in her tribal community ("Seattle Civil Rights," n.d.).

### **Puyallup Tribal History**

Ramona wanted to begin our interview by talking about what she felt was important about the Puyallup Tribe. She said:

When everyone thinks about tribal history they go back 150 years and beyond, but to me, the real story is how these families stayed connected with no land, no rights, no money, and no services. We were homeless on our own reservation, but we stayed connected.

Ramona talked about the Cushman Act, which was legislation that enabled Puyallup tribal members to sell their land. The Indians were assigned guardians because many of them could not read, write, or speak English. The guardians were community bankers, logging companies, railroad people – all white people with power. The guardians arranged to have the land sold to each other. Ramona said, "Our land is still there, but the titles to the land were taken." The Indians were mandated to agree to sell their land. If they didn't, they were put into chain-gangs,

and they were the lucky ones. The unlucky ones were murdered, and their bodies were thrown upon the railroad tracks. Ramona's mother told her the death certificates read "railroad accident." The Puyallup tribe eventually organized and took over their own enrollment records. When they did, they found a pile of death certificates that said "railroad accident" for cause of death. Ramona said her aunts and grant-aunties were murdered that way. She said, "My mother, to her dying day when she was in her 80s, still cried for her aunties."

### **Puyallup Tribal Culture**

Ramona said she remembers how fish used to be prepared. Her family used to smoke the fish heads and then drop them all on a string. Her family would give away the fish heads. She explained, "You cut the meat off the heads, drop it in a pot of rice and potatoes and make soup." My mother, Gladys Rarden, is an 88-year-old Puyallup tribal elder. She has told me the same thing. She also remembers her family preparing fish head soup the same way. My mother said, "Fish heads were considered a delicacy." Ramona asked me if I have ever eaten fish head soup. I told her, "No." She said, "You have spent time in Quinault with your grandmother and she prepared you soup, right?" I said, "Yes." Ramona said, "You had fish head soup, you just didn't know it." My mother said eel soup was just as common, and she remembers it was delicious.

Ramona's mother was taught from her mother how to weave utility baskets. They were made so that they held clams and also spit out sand. Ramona's mother had learned to sew in the boarding school and she taught her how to sew. Ramona said that she made regalia for numerous Indian children. She said one time she went to a powwow and every single person in the arena had something on that she made. She enjoyed making regalia for Indian kids, because, "It doesn't feel good to be an Indian kid and not have regalia." So, she dressed the kids.

In talking about culture, Ramona said, “Our culture isn’t beads and feathers. Our culture is really family and a lot of it has to do with food.” She said she feels bad for the kids who are fostered out, because they suffer. They never hear a song or the beat of the drum. This is what happened to my mother. She was forced into foster care and placed with a White farming family when she was seven years old. She lived with this family until she graduated from high school. She was removed from her family and her traditional teachings. Like Ramona said, she never heard a song and she suffered the loss of her culture – the loss of her identity. Eventually, she found her way back, like so many others have done.

### **Indian Boarding Schools**

Ramona told the story of two boys who were relatives who attended an Indian boarding school. One of the boys was named Martin. He was four-years-old and very tall for his age. Fremond was another Indian boy. He was eight-years-old and quite short for his age. Fremond was quite a bit wiser than Martin, because there’s a big difference between four and eight. These two kids were dragged off to boarding school together. Fremond got pushed around at boarding school because he was so short. They all kept growing, except for Fremond who stayed short. During the years they were at boarding school, Martin always watched over Fremond and took care of him. When they got older and got out of boarding school, they eventually found each other again many years later. When they saw each other again they yelled each other’s name and hugged each other. They thought they would never see each other again.

Ramona said, “My mother got hauled off to three local schools.” They first took her to the St. George’s Industrial School, located just south of Federal Way off of old Highway 99. She also attended Cushman Indian School and the Tulalip Indian School. Ramona’s mother told her that she almost starved to death at the St. George’s Industrial School. They gave her very thin

rations of gruel. She said, “The Indians brought in salmon and beef to the boarding schools for the children to eat, but the children were never given any salmon or beef.” One memory that Ramona’s mother shared with her was, one year at Christmas the children were given oranges for Christmas – but, they were all rotten. Her memories of the boarding school were all negative.

The dorms where her mother stayed at the boarding school was like military barracks, and the rooms were not heated. It was very cold, but the children were forced to sleep with their hands on top of the blankets. Their fingers were freezing cold. The children were forced to do this because the nuns at the school assumed the children would masturbate. Ramona’s mother remembers that the staff came through several times throughout the night to check on them and make sure their hands were on top of the blankets.

Ramona added, “The only reason our language and most Indian languages survived is because of tuberculosis. The kids that got tuberculosis were sent home and had to stay there. They are the ones who spoke their language and didn’t forget it.” It was the Indian children who got tuberculosis and survived who carried on our language.

### **Family Life and Family Separation**

Ramona explained, “In the boarding schools the little girls were here, and the little boys were there, and the older girls were here, and the older boys were there. There was very little contact between them.” We need to remember that many of these children were siblings. Ramona said, “They were dragged off to boarding school when they were four, five, six, seven years old. They were not allowed to grow up as siblings, but they knew if they were brothers and sisters.” These children did not get to spend time at home growing up as siblings. When Ramona’s mother was in boarding school, her mother had a baby. So, she was allowed to go



home to help her mother for a period of time, but her other sibling was not allowed to go home. Only Ramona's mother got to help her mother because she was the oldest.

### **Loss of Culture and Language as a Child**

Ramona said, "The students at the boarding school were beat bloody if they said any words in Indian." For a punishment the children were isolated. Ramona explained, "When I was a child my mother spoke Indian all the time, but I was not allowed to speak our language because my mother was afraid that I would be get a whipping." Her mother had a deep fear that Ramona would be punished by someone.

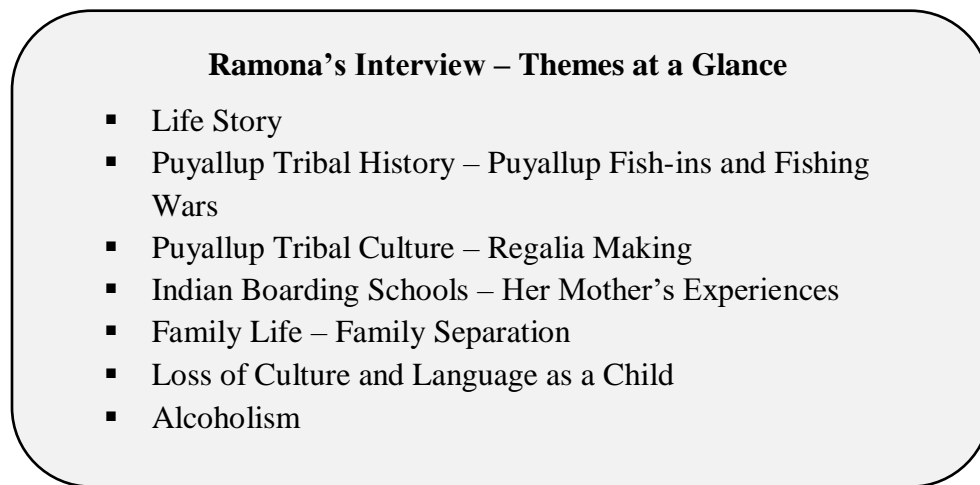
### **Alcoholism**

Ramona said she had been going to a Methodist church and taught Sunday School. She found her way into an Indian sweat lodge in 1968. A sweat lodge ceremony is held for healing and restoration (Hogan, 1992). Prayers are uplifted to the ancestors and the Creator. Ramona said she was an alcoholic and quit drinking in 1971. She credits the Creator for her alcoholism recovery.

As part of Ramona's healing journey, she facilitated trainings titled, "Adult Children of Alcoholics." In her role, she helped others navigate through the difficult path of having one or two parents who were alcoholic. She said that it was a crazy way to grow up, having both parents be alcoholic. Ramona explained, "You cannot depend on a drunken parent. They will tell you they are going to buy you something, but they get drunk, and the money gets spent on something else." When you grow up this way, you can't trust other people. When you get older, you feel like you always have to be in control. When you have a drinking parent, they have 20 different personalities. When you have two drinking parents, you have learn how to tiptoe around 40 different personalities. Ramona said that her parents had a heaving-drinking, domestic violence

relationship, and both believed in physical discipline. She said, “The way I was disciplined, you would go to jail for now.” She did believe that they just wanted her to be good, and so they used physical discipline with her. See Figure 7 below for emergent themes.

Figure 7



*Figure 7.* Themes that emerged from Ramona's interview.

### **Raymond McCloud – His Story**

Raymond Daniel McCloud (see Figure 8) was born in Pendleton, Oregon in 1953. His father was Andrew McCloud (my great uncle) and his mother was Kininee McCloud. His father was Puyallup and his mother was Walla Walla from the Umatilla, Cayuse tribes. His father worked as a lineman for 40 years. He also did a lot of fishing. He taught Raymond how to hang a net, set a net, and fish out in the bay. His mother was a housewife and she taught him a lot of culture. She cooked the fish, put up tepees, and dug up roots. She prepared the fish for ceremonies.

Figure 8

**Raymond McCloud**



(Kivalahula-Uddin, 2018)

*Figure 8. Puyallup tribal elder, Raymond McCloud, July 16, 2018.*

**Family Life**

Raymond comes from a large family. He had 13 siblings, and one of them passed away. He has eight sisters and five brothers (including the one who passed away). Their ages range from 50 to 70. He sees half of them regularly, the other half live in Texas, Pendleton, and Yakima. Raymond lived in the Pendleton, Oregon area until he was eight years old, then his family moved to Washington. He recalls when they lived in Oregon they did not have electricity, they packed in their water and had an outdoor outhouse. He remembers his family grew their own wheat and barley. The roads back then were made of dirt.

### **Early Oppressive School Experiences**

He recalls going to school at an old, tiny, Catholic school in Oregon. In his class, the teacher expected Raymond to know his ABCs. When the teacher walked over to Raymond and asked him to say his ABCs, he could only get as far as D. The teacher got angry and said, “Put out your hand!” The teacher whacked Raymond’s hand real hard with a ruler. This made Raymond angry and he vowed he would never learn his ABCs. To this day, he does not know his ABCs. He thinks he might know half of them. Raymond thinks the experience of getting his hands slapped in elementary school turned him off to organized religion, especially Catholicism. It also made him hate going to school, but he had no choice in the matter. He was forced to go to school there, but they couldn’t make him learn his ABCs.

### **Positive High School Experiences**

His family then moved to Yelm, Washington. Raymond attended elementary school, junior high, and high school in Yelm. They were public schools. He enjoyed going to school there because there the school was full of McClouds. He had all of his cousins right there with him and it was like they owned the school. Even though he enjoyed going to Yelm High School, he did not graduate. He quit school, so he could go to work fishing. His siblings choose to stay in school and graduate. Raymond said that every year he was behind with his school work because fishing started in August, September, and October. He always missed a couple of months of school every year which made it difficult to keep up with his studies.

He has memories of his grandparents in Washington state. They were from Frankson Island. Angie McCloud Tobin and Frank lived along the Nisqually river, where the Fishing Wars took place. Grandpa Bill Frank was involved. Raymond said the grandparents and other relatives took good care of him. They did a lot of swimming in the river and laying in the sand. They also

worked hard with their fishing. A fond memory of his grandmother was she was wonderful at baking pies and making fry bread. She baked blackberry, strawberry, and apple pies and you could smell them from a mile away. He also recalls gathering up oysters when they went swimming, and then cooking them in a pot.

### **Native Language**

Raymond said he recalls hearing his brother speak their mother's Native language. No one in the family spoke the Native language on his father's side (Puyallup Twulshootseed). On his mother's side of the family, all of the elders spoke their language. Raymond has two adult sons and five grandchildren. There are four boys and one girl. He has one that is just three weeks old. His sons have learned to speak their coastal language and his grandchildren are able to speak it too. Raymond said he doesn't know what they are saying, but he thinks he knows what they are talking about just by guessing.

### **Cultural Experiences**

Raymond participated in Seven Drums as a child. He'd go into a longhouse. The men were seated on one side while the women were on the other side. When they danced, the women danced on one side of the longhouse, while the men danced on the other side. They had seven drums in the front, and they sang Indian songs. It was a powerful experience that lasted all day from the early morning. It started out with songs and it ended with songs. Raymond danced at Seven Drums.

When Raymond talked about Seven Drums, he was referring to a Native American religion. The Seven Drums Religion is from the Columbia Plateau and is also known as the Sacred Dance Religion, the Longhouse Religion, or simply the Indian Religion ("Seven Drums," n.d.). The religion is about honoring the Creator in everything they do. The Seven Drums

Religion has long provided a central venue for the expression of Indian culture among Plateau peoples (“Seven Drums,” n.d.). The Seven Drums Religion was a target of repression by government authorities until the 1930s (“Seven Drums,” n.d.). Its spiritual roots extend nearly 10,000 years into the aboriginal past, when the native inhabitants of the Columbia Basin developed the seasonal round of fishing, gathering, and hunting that characterized their culture at the time of European contact (“Seven Drums,” n.d.). The religion still remains active today.

Raymond has done a lot of canoeing in his life. He said, “They brought the canoe here 25 years ago, and that is when I started learning the coastal water ways.” He explained that he has traveled extensively by canoe and he knows the waterways very well and where all the small reservations are. He smiled and said, “The problem is I don’t know how to drive to the small reservations, I only know how to get there by canoe.” He thinks that bringing canoeing back to our tribe was important because it brought a lot of the songs back to our culture. Raymond also participated in picking huckleberries, digging roots, and gathering cedar, which are all important cultural activities.

Growing up, Ray said he went to sweat lodges most of his life. Elders would come into the lodge and tell their stories from long ago. He always liked hearing what they had to say. He particularly enjoyed listening to his grandfather, Bill Frank. He told a lot of stories about old Nisqually and how it was walking across the creeks when they were full of fish. Back in the old days, there were sweat lodges and long houses up and down the river. He said grandfather said, “There was a land across the river, but Fort Lewis came and took it away from them. They gave them a little piece of land at what is now called *Frank’s Landing*.”

## **Spirituality**

Raymond said that he has never been a believer or supporter of organized religion, but he has worked with a spiritual medicine woman in Texas. He said, “When I talked to her, she could see right through me. She was a powerful woman.” Raymond also went to see Doby from up north, a Tulalip tribal elder. He said he went to Doby to have cleansings done. Raymond said, “I’d sit down and Doby would tell me what I was going to talk about before I even told him what was on my mind. Doby knew what words were going to be said, before I said them.” Raymond said he called upon Doby whenever he had problems in his life. Doby would meet with him and tell him what was going to happen, and it was all good. He said he looked up to Doby a lot.

I also used Doby’s services at Chief Leschi School when I worked there. I would have Doby do a cleansing of the school when certain things occurred. One time a teacher from upstairs came to my office and told me he was working late at night when no one else was in the building. He said he heard children’s laughter up in the rafters, but there was no one there. I asked the teacher to keep this information confidential. Over the next few weeks, two more teachers came with the same experience. I had Doby come out and do a spiritual cleansing of the building. Doby moved the spirits on and we did not have any more problems after that. Raymond said that Doby passed-on three or four years ago.

Raymond said he has always walked the path of Native spirituality for the “good things.” He said he often participates in sweats and attends ceremonies. Raymond said, “I feel like I am one of the Creator’s helpers. I run the sweats for the tribal community. I am not the boss, I don’t tell people what to do, but I help, and I take people to the sweat.” Raymond believes that the Creator helps people stay on the right path and be clean and sober.

## **Indian Boarding Schools**

Raymond said that his parents went to Chemawa Indian Boarding School, but they never talked about it. He doesn't recall anyone ever asking them about their experience there, but he heard about what went on at that boarding school from his friends. He said his friends had conversations with their parents and the elders in their families. His friends told Raymond, "They cut their long hair off, and made them become a non-Indian." Raymond said his aunts and uncles were also required to attend Chemawa. Raymond shared this interesting thought, "If it wasn't for the Chemawa Indian Boarding School, I wouldn't be here." He told me his parents met at Chemawa. After all the readings I have done about boarding schools and the conversations I have participated in, I found Ray's comment to be thought-provoking. For me too, if it wasn't for Chemawa Indian Boarding School, I wouldn't be here either. It was at Chemawa that my grandmother met my grandfather, and they got married, and had my mother.

## **Employment, Sobriety, and the GED**

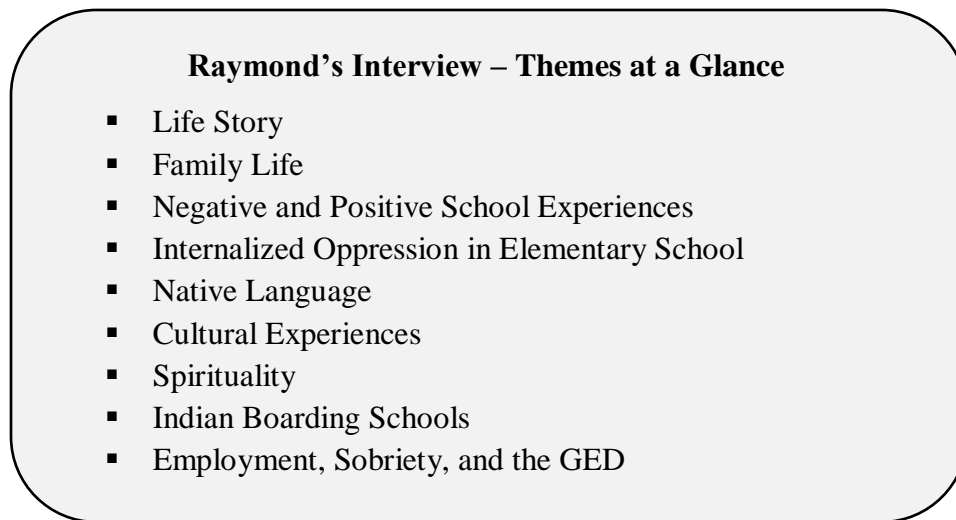
Raymond has had a variety of jobs. He worked for the city of Yelm for water and trash for a year. He worked at the state capital for a year in accounting. He also worked in construction, which eventually led to his current job with the Puyallup tribe. He worked in building maintenance supervision for many years. He worked for the Puyallup tribe for 25 years. He said, "Twenty-four years ago I was in treatment across from the street. It never dawned on me that someday I would be working over here. I've been clean and sober for 24 years." I asked him, "What made you decide to go into treatment?" He said, "It was either that or go to jail, so I went to treatment."

Prior to the experience of being in treatment with the Puyallup Tribe, Raymond had been in treatment for his alcoholism in Oregon when he was about 25 years old. At that time, he was



told to get his GED while he was in treatment. It was a 30-day treatment program. From the day he decided he wanted to get his GED, he had 3 weeks to study. He said, “I lucked out, I barely passed, but I passed.” He has happy to have his GED because it is a requirement to work for the Puyallup tribe. See Figure 9 for emergent themes.

Figure 9



*Figure 9.* Themes that emerged from Raymond's interview.

### **Susan Dillon – Her Story**

Susan Elaine Dillon (see Figure 10) was born in Seattle, Washington in 1957. Her mother was Alvina H. Dillon and her father was Frederick Dillon. Susan began the interview by telling me that her parents were alcoholic. Her father drank until he passed away. Both of her parents have been gone about 20 years. Her father and mother were both Puyallup Indians. Her great-grandmother Ida was Yakama. She said, “We are mostly Puyallup, but we do have a little bit of Yakama.”

Susan's Life Story will discuss some of her family members and their struggles with alcoholism and drug addiction because this is what she wanted to talk about during our interview. In order to protect the confidentiality of Susan's family members, pseudonyms will be used for all members of her family for the remainder of her story. Non-family members will have their actual names. In qualitative research, researchers must ensure that changes made will not affect the meaning of the content (Surmiak, 2018).

Susan went to school at Lister Elementary School in Tacoma. After that, she attended Gault Junior High and then Stadium High School. Susan said in her growing-up years, education was not encouraged by her parents. Even so, she and her younger sister Beverly were excited to go to school at Stadium. They got up extra early every morning to catch the bus to school. In the eleventh grade Susan got pregnant with her son Ted. Susan dropped out of high-school because of her pregnancy.

Figure 10

**Susan Dillon**



(Kivalahula-Uddin, 2018)

*Figure 10.* Susan Dillon at the Puyallup Tribal Health Authority, July 16, 2018.

Susan started a job with the Puyallup Tribe of Indians and they have a requirement that new-hires must be a high school graduate or have a GED. Susan attended the Medicine Creek Tribal College on the Puyallup tribal grounds and received her GED when she was 26 years-old. Medicine Creek Tribal College was a short-lived Puyallup tribal higher education program.

Susan said her mother did not go to school. Her dad did not graduate from high school, but he did take classes in welding at Bate's Technical School and became a welder. Her mother taught herself to rudimentarily read and write. She could do crossword puzzles in the *T.V. Guide*, but she struggled with signing a letter for school. Susan remembers her dad encouraging her mom when she had to sign a form for school. He would say, "You can do it." She would sign her name on the forms and Susan would take it back to school and turn it in. Susan does recall her mother saying, "I never went to school and that is why school is important. I've struggled to learn to read and write." However, later in the interview, she stated that she felt her parents did not encourage her education.

### **Family Life**

Susan's mother worked at the Indian church, the clothing bank, and the food bank. Her father was a fisherman and a welder. Growing up, Susan was the middle child. She had older and younger sisters and brothers. When they got upset they would do something bad and blame it on Susan. She said she was punished often for offenses she did not do.

Susan has fond memories of going to the tribal baseball tournaments with her family. She said, "We'd ride in the back of the station wagon and we'd go to Nisqually." There were two big baseball fields there. Susan's parents would park on the side, open up the car, and let the kids take off and do what they wanted. Susan never played baseball, but she remembers being with all the other Indians there. She remembers this was an activity where her parents were happy and

had fun and they were always laughing. Everyone in the whole family had fun and this is where Susan got acquainted with Norma and Marcella McCloud. The tribal baseball tournaments was a gathering place for Indians.

In her life, her grandmother Molly was her savior. She was very loving and kind to Susan, because she knew Susan was mistreated at home. All of Susan's siblings received birthday cakes and gifts on their special day, but Susan never received anything from her parents. Year after year, Susan's birthday was forgotten. She was the only one in the family who was treated this way. Her grandmother Molly celebrated Susan's birthday with her. Susan said she got used to not receiving the special attention her siblings received, she just figured that was how it was supposed to be. In the interview, she did not seem bitter. She just seemed to take it as a fact of life.

Susan recalls her 11<sup>th</sup> birthday was very special. For the first time, she receive a birthday gift from someone in her immediate family. Her brother bought her a bike, which she treasured. She kept her bike locked up in the basement. One day, her sisters found the lock key and took her bike and left it outside. It was stolen, and she cried for days. Susan said, "I had a hard life."

Susan has a five-year-old great-grandson named David. He suffered from "shaken-baby syndrome" when he was an infant. He will be disabled for the rest of his life. He still can't talk. He does remember her and when he sees her, he "lights-up" with happiness. Susan will soon travel to California to get him and bring him home to live with her. She is looking forward to having him in her life.

### **Physical Abuse**

When Susan was growing up she had her great-grandmother Irene in her life, and she was the mother to grandmother Molly. Susan said, "Grandmother Molly and great-grandmother Irene were both required to attend an Indian boarding school." Great-grandmother Irene was abusive to

Susan's mother. Susan said, "My mother had a black eye because she had been hit by grandmother Irene with a switch." Susan said she had always heard that great-grandmother Irene was always very mean to her mother. Susan told a story about great-grandmother Irene:

My mom and dad used to take us over to grandmother Irene's and drop us off, and then they would go out drinking. I hated going to great-grandmother Irene's house. I would be at her house sitting watching television and she would call me to go outside. As soon as I got outside, she would grab a switch off the tree and start hitting me. I cried a lot.

Susan said she was married twice, and both times she married men who abused her. Her first husband put her in the hospital three times and caused her to lose a child through miscarriage. He beat her when she was pregnant. She said, "The second one used to drag me from room to room and beat me."

### **Alcoholism and Drug Addiction**

Susan said it was her belief in the Creator that helped in her recovery as a drug addict and alcoholic. Susan said, "I was raised by parents who were alcoholics and everyone out there was doing drugs, so I did it too." She said she is one month short of being clean and sober for five years. She said, "I started drinking during my second marriage, because my husband beat me. I drank so I didn't have to feel the pain. I talk to the Creator every day and night and ask for help to help me get through this."

Susan said, "My oldest son, Ted, is my blessing in this life. He is 46." Ted is a recovering addict and alcoholic and has been clean and sober for 21 years. She said, "Ted never had a father figure. He'd always tell me, 'Mom, you're a great mom and you're a great father.'" Susan described Ted as her "backbone." He always encouraged her not to worry about things, saying, "We will take care of it."

Susan has other children who are all adults. She has a son, William, who she has not seen in 12 years. He lives in California with his wife and children. They are estranged because his wife doesn't get along with Susan's family. Susan has a 44-year-old daughter named Carrie who is married with a family. Carrie's son is into drugs, but he is trying to get clean and sober. She has another son named Mark, he is 42, and married. Mark is in recovery right now in Parkland. Her other son Tom, lives in California. She has not seen Tom in 15 years. He is a drug addict and schizophrenic. Her youngest daughter Angela is 38 years-old. Susan's kids are Angela, Tom, Mark, Carrie, William, and Ted; and the child she miscarried. She has 15 or 16 grandchildren and she is a great-grandmother five or six times. Susan said, "My oldest grandchild is Rhonda. She's an addict, lives in the streets, and no one knows where she is at." Rhonda has two girls, and they are raised by one of Susan's grandsons.

### **Suicide Attempts**

Susan said she has attempted suicide a few times. She said, "I took two bottles of pills and was trying to go to sleep and not wake up again. That's what I would tell my kids." Susan said she felt like she didn't have a life. She was sad inside. The first time she attempted suicide, her sister found her. Susan was unconscious. Her sister called 911 and they pumped her stomach. She said, "There's been two or three more times I tried to commit suicide and it hasn't worked." Every morning and night I pray, "Creator, I need you." Susan knows she is still here because the Creator wants her here.

### **Sexual Abuse**

Susan finally realized what she believes is the source of her lifetime of sadness. Six years ago, she remembered sexual abuse that occurred to her when she was seven years-old. A family member molested her. The pain from this was so deep that she repressed the memories of it.

Only six years ago, she came out of repression and remembered the abuse. Her therapist told her that she had completely blocked it out because it was too painful to remember. Susan said, “When I realized that a family member did this to me, it threw me into a deep depression. I was devastated. I was ashamed. I didn’t want anyone to look at me.” Susan took three months off of work and participated in therapy. She also worked with a traditional healer. Doby, a medicine man, did a spiritual cleansing. Doby told her he could see the dark shadows around her. He cleansed her off. A spiritual cleansing is a very sacred act and it is not something I can describe in my dissertation.

### **Graduation from High School and Caring Relationships**

Susan said, “Carrie and Mark graduated from high school. Ted, William, and Tom did not graduate, and Angela earned her GED.” Carrie is in college now and will soon graduate with a master’s degree. Ted works as the Natural Resource Director for the Puyallup Tribe. We can infer that Ted has a GED, because it is required for employment with the tribe.

Susan said she has loving and caring relationships with her adult children. Susan said, “All of my kids text me every morning. They say, ‘Good morning Mom. I hope you have a good day.’” She texts them back every day with the same message. She said Ted’s texts will say, “Good morning Mom, happy Tuesday. Love you so much. Call me later.” Susan feels blessed to have the attention and love of her kids.

### **Puyallup Tribal History and Memories of the Fishing Wars**

I asked Susan what she remembers about the Puyallup Fishing Wars. Susan remembers the Fishing Wars clearly. She said,

We were in the car when the Fishing Wars started. I was eight or nine years old. The state police pulled my dad out of the car, put him on the ground and handcuffed him. I

remember Suzette. They grabbed her by her hair and threw her to the ground. I remember me and my sisters, my little brother, and my big brother, we were in the car. We were crying and telling them to stop. It was a really upsetting time. My mom was a petite little lady and the cops grabbed her. She said, 'Leave my husband alone!' I remember the cops getting our people, pulling them out of their boats, and knocking them to the ground onto the embankment. This is what I remember of the Fishing Wars. It was pretty traumatic for me. I can still see him throwing him onto the ground. I really don't care to remember it.

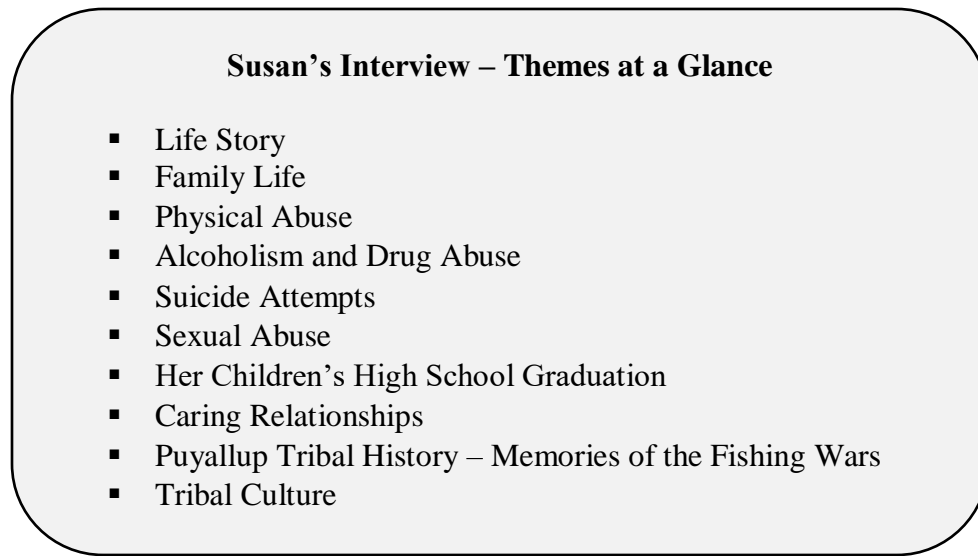
The Puyallup tribal Fishing Wars were also described in Ramona Bennett's life story.

### **Tribal Culture**

When Susan was asked about what cultural experiences she remembers participating in as a child she said, "My mom and dad always took us to different events for the tribe. They did this, so they could drink. We did Native dancing at the Indian church." Later she said, "As a child, I never really had a Native culture. We experienced very little of it." Susan said she barely remembers her grandmother Irene's mother. She does recall that she spoke the language. She thinks she has a culture now because Ted takes her to many cultural events including the recent Power Paddle to Puyallup and the Puyallup Tribal Protocol (a gathering of nations to share traditional customs), fishing, and powwows. Susan has tried beading but doesn't have the patience for it. She is trying to learn to weave. See Figure 11 for emergent themes.



Figure 11



*Figure 11.* Themes that emerged from Susan's interview.

### **Larry Reynon – His Story**

Larry Reynon (See Figure 12) was born in 1945 at Providence Hospital in Seattle. His father was Joseph John, born in 1908, and was Filipino. His mother was Donna Lou Dillon, a Puyallup Indian and sister to Herman and Harry Dillon. Herman was our beloved Puyallup tribal council chairman, he passed in 2014. Herman's mother was Margaret John Dillon and her father was James Dillon. His father's name was Aponio Segun Reynon from the Philippines. Larry's mother did not graduate from high school. His father came to the United States from the Philippines at the age of 14 or 15, and he did not graduate from high school either. His mother passed away at the age of 40 from alcohol addiction.

Figure 12

**Larry Reynon**



(Reynon, 2018) Used with permission.

*Figure 12.* Puyallup tribal elder, Larry Reynon, March 20, 2015.

Larry attended Interlaken Elementary, Hamilton Junior High, and Lincoln High School in Seattle. He said he struggled in school and graduated with a 2.0 GPA. From when Larry was nine years old until he graduated from high school, he worked in the fields. He made 25 cents an hour and saved \$25.00. For him, that was a lot of money to buy school clothes. He said while he worked in the fields he used to daydream. In his dreams, he was a super-hero. He used to always say, “I wish I was Superman!”

After high school graduation, Larry spent the summer working at Northwest Steel doing scrap work. One day he had an accident with a piece of exploding cast iron. He received a shrapnel injury from the accident. When he was in the Army he used to tell people, “I was in Vietnam and got ambushed and I have the wound to prove it!” Larry has quite a sense of humor. Larry went to work for Boeing after his time in the Army. He worked in the print shop processing print jobs. His career with Boeing lasted 32 years.

## **Family Life**

Larry said that his mother was dysfunctional, and his father worked 14 hours a day at a vegetable farm. There was no one to take care of him and his brother, Sonny. The two boys were placed into foster care with a Filipino family. Reflecting back on their foster home experience he said:

We always knew that Dan and Robby were their children and we were just the foster kids. If I needed something I had to call my dad, and he would have to bring whatever I needed. We were definitely second class. When you grow up, that sticks with you. You make sure that doesn't ever happen again. They fed us, clothed us, and made sure we went to school. As far as the responsibility of the foster parent, you really can't complain.

Larry lived with his foster parents from kindergarten until graduation from high school. His brother, Sonny, left their foster home when he was in the 11<sup>th</sup> grade and returned to live with his father because he couldn't stand their rules. The foster parents' kids, Dan and Robby, were always picking on the boys and blaming everything on them. Sometimes Larry and Sonny got spanked.

When Larry's mother died, he got acquainted with her side of the family. He said he knew of his other brothers and sisters, but he came together with them at the time of her passing. This event led him to return to his Puyallup tribal relatives. Larry's children also got involved in Puyallup tribal events and eventually became intricately involved with the tribe.

Larry has been married to Sharon for 53 years and they have three natural children: Tim, Tara, and Brandon. All three of his children went to college. Larry's son Tim earned a law degree from Brigham Young University, Tara has two master's degrees, and Brandon has a

bachelor's degree. Tim was one of the first Puyallup tribal lawyers. Tim became the Human Resource Director for the Puyallup Tribe and Tara works in Children's Services. Brandon works in the Historical Preservation Department and manages the archaeological office and artifacts.

Larry and his wife, Sharon, decided to take in foster children. They were registered to take in only Native American children. Over a 27-year period, they raised 36 foster children in addition to their three natural children. Larry and Sharon felt there was a gigantic need for foster parents. He said, "There's a part of you that when you are raised in foster care, it makes sense to do to same thing for others."

### **Puyallup Tribal Disconnection**

Larry said that during the time he was raised in foster care he was completely disconnected from his Puyallup tribal family. When asked about what he knows of his grandparents he replied, "Herman, Harry, and Dutch all liked to drink a lot." Larry said that he really had no connection with his grandparents, other than his dad would occasionally bring him to the Puyallup river when he was nine years-old. He remembers hanging out along the river's edge near their house. He remembers a lot of bars in the area.

When asked about his other family members he mentioned, uncle Tommy Dillon. His uncle was a fisherman. Larry said sometimes his family would come home and find a salmon covering both sinks, and they knew Uncle Tommy had been there. Larry indicated he does not know about other family members or ancestors. He said, "There really isn't much else, because as I said, I was raised by foster parents."

### **Cultural Disconnection**

When I asked Larry what he knew about Indian Boarding Schools, he indicated he doesn't know anything. Of all the tribal elders that I interviewed, he is the only one who doesn't

know anything about it or its impact on our tribe and culture. He is also the only elder who was raised in foster care completely outside of the tribal community. After I did the interview with Larry, I thought I would not be able to use his interview in my dissertation because he doesn't know enough about our tribal history or culture. Then one day it dawned on me, this is a story that needs to be told. I interviewed an elder who has been disconnected from his tribe due to being raised in foster care, that he knows very little about our tribe and traditional ways. Just as important as the "said" is the "unsaid," for the unsaid speaks loud and clear of what has been lost.

Larry said that he does not know how to drum and hasn't even tried. He commented that his son Tim knows how to drum. Elder, Ramona Bennett, believes that drumming is at the core of our culture. In her opinion, a household can be defined as Indian if it has a drum and is used. Hopefully, Larry will pick up the drum someday – it's really a spiritual thing. The unspoken words, the knowledge they do not know, the songs they have not heard, is the result of being taken away from their families and culture.

### **Puyallup Tribal Reconnection**

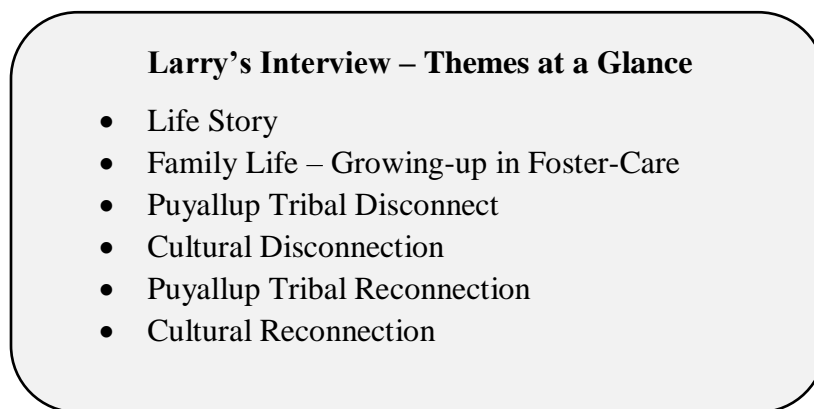
After Larry's mother died, he reconnected with his Puyallup relatives. They said, "You need to come on over and get with us." Larry said he didn't do it right away because he spent three years in the Army. Once Larry got out of the Army, he got married, and got involved with tribal events. He and his wife had children, and everyone got involved in tribal happenings. They started attending tribal community meetings at the old youth center. They went to the tribal forum to talk about tribal issues. They worked with elders to seek their input on various issues. The tribe provided financial assistance, so his children could go to college. After they graduated they secured employment with the tribe. This assured a tribal connection.

## Cultural Reconnection

Larry and his family have been actively involved, attending and participating in Puyallup tribal cultural events. The summer of 2018 was their third year of participating in the canoe journey. They went up to Quinault and were on the beach when the tribal canoes started coming in. They have participated in the Puyallup tribal salmon ceremonies and they have attended all of the tribal council swearing-in ceremonies. They have tried to be involved politically by attending the forums and talking about what they believe in. My mother has told me that she sees him at the Puyallup tribal elder functions, so I know he goes to those too.

Larry told me the most powerful cultural event he participated in was at the Day Star Center, which used to be Fort Lawton. Many tribes were convened at Day Star for a gathering of nations. It was a perfectly clear day, there was drumming and singing, just then, two eagles soared above them. Everyone in attendance knew the eagles were there to bless the gathering. Larry said, “I felt the spirit and the blessing.” See Figure 13 below for emergent themes.

Figure 13



*Figure 13.0.* Themes that emerged from Larry's interview.

## Henry John – His Story

Henry Albert John (See Figure 14.0) was born in Nisqually, Washington, and is 76 years old. His birth certificate says he was born in 1941, but he was born in 1940. There was a mistake made on his birth certificate. He is actually 77 years old. His mother was Clair Squally (Yanacush) John, born in Milton, Washington at her grandmother's home in 1916. His father was Joseph John Jr., born on the old Nisqually reservation in 1908. His grandfather was Joseph John. On his father's side, his grandmother was Suzie Frank. His great-grandfather was Wapato John and his great-great grandmother was Suzanna John. Yanacush was his mother and her mother was Emma Yanacush. Katie Yanacush was his great-grandmother. Jean Squally was his grandfather on his mother's side, and George Yanacush was his great-grandfather. His father was a member of the Yakama tribe. Henry is half Nisqually and Puyallup, and only 1/8 Yakama, but his parents enrolled him in the Yakama tribe. This made it difficult to get enrolled in the Puyallup tribe as they conveyed, "You don't belong here." He eventually become a member of the Puyallup Tribe of Indians.

Figure 14.0

**Henry John**



(Puyallup Tribal News, 2016) Used with permission.

Figure 14.0 Henry John received a Puyallup tribal blanket in March 2016.

Henry said that Herman Dillon was his first cousin. Herman's mom was Margaret John Dillon and she was sister to Henry's dad. Herman Dillon was the Chairman of the Puyallup Tribe of Indians for over three decades, originally getting elected to council in 1971 (Cornwall, 2014).

Henry attended Fairwood Elementary School in the Puyallup Valley. It was a small community school located between Puyallup and Fife. There were Indian families who went to school there: the Dillons, the Johns and the Crosses. His family lived in the Puyallup Valley and in Nisqually during the time he was growing up.

Henry recalls the stories he heard about the Depression. During this time, his father, uncles, and other family and tribal members went hunting a lot for birds, ducks, deer, whatever they could find to eat. He recalls his family had special dinners at the holidays (Christmas, Thanksgiving, and Easter). They ate food and sang Indian songs. Funerals always consisted of people gathering and singing Indian songs. He recalls this happening at his mother's funeral.

Henry recalls when he was a child he was forced to work in a child labor camp. He was three, four, and five years old. Henry had to pick strawberries. There were eight frame shacks at the labor camp. He assumed his aunt worked as a cook there. His mother and father had to work out in the fields.

Henry was elected to the Puyallup tribal council for twelve years, from 1987 to 1993, 1996-1999, and 2006-2009. Prior to becoming a tribal council member, he worked as a janitor for the tribe. After he left his council position, he was the Puyallup Tribe Shellfish Director from 1999-2006. He worked with the salmon, shellfish, and hunting biologists and attended management meetings.



## Cultural Memories

Henry remembers going to Yakama and playing *stick games*. Stick games, also called slahal or lahal, is a gambling game of the Indigenous peoples of the Pacific Northwest Coast (Hill-Tout, 1978). He remembers playing stick games every Sunday during the summer time during his young adult years. The game consisted of the British Columbia First Nations peoples against the Washington state tribes. They would start out with five or six sticks and keep score. They used two sets of deer horns in the game. One of the deer horns would be marked and the other one would not be marked. Each team (or tribe) would have to guess which hand had the marked horns or the unmarked horns. While the game is going on, there would be Indian singing and drumming. In his youth, he remembers the emphasis was on singing, but they did always have drums too. Whereas now-a-days, there is a stronger emphasis on drumming and less on singing. They usually had a log or board in front of the teams, and they would beat it with the drums, and sing. They would guess, and whoever guessed correctly would win all the sticks, game, and money. As soon as one game ended another one would start. If you won, it would be a big prize. They also had powwows in Yakama, but he liked going to the stick games better than the powwows. Henry said that stick games were also common in Tulalip and Muckleshoot.

Henry said it has been a long time since he has been to stick game. He has heard a music tape of bone games songs. When he hears the music, it makes him feel uplifted inside. Henry never learned how to drum or sing, but he loves to listen to the music. Of the other people I interviewed, Larry Reynon, was the other person who never learned how to drum.

Henry said he does not remember seeing powwows in his childhood or his young adulthood. He saw his first powwow during the 1960s, in Yakama. He did not see them in western Washington. This is interesting, because in the interview with Shirley Satiacum, she said

it was her brother, Robert Satiacum, who introduced the first powwow to the Puyallup people. Ramona Bennett also mentioned in her interview that powwows came to the Pacific Northwest much later compared to other tribal nations.

Henry has always loved fishing and it was always exciting. He like hanging the nets and stripping the nets. Sometimes he fished with his dad, even though his dad was Yakama and not Nisqually. Henry mentioned, “My dad’s mom was Lizzie Frank. She was sister to old man Billy Frank. Young Billy Frank was my dad’s first cousin.”

Henry likes to go hunting with his Nisqually family. In the past, he shot eight to ten deer a year and they ate them all. They cooked it up as a roast or in stew. They also ate salmon hash, cooked with potatoes and onions. They ate a lot of salmon eggs. They placed the salmon eggs on the rocks to dry out and then they could eat them. They had three smoke houses and they smoked a lot of fish. They often smoked the salmon eggs by hanging them up on the racks. Shirley Satiacum also talked about eating a lot of salmon eggs.

### **Indian Boarding Schools**

Henry’s father attended Cushman Indian School and his mother attended St. George’s Indian School, both schools were boarding schools located in the Puyallup tribal general vicinity. His parents both went there for the third, fourth, and fifth grades. Henry said, “They didn’t get a lot of schooling.” He recalls his mother telling him that she was required to do chores and work the whole time she attended St. George’s Indian School. He recalls his father talking about taking the train to get to the school. He also said, “I can’t remember him talking so much about Cushman Indian School itself. I didn’t know why he didn’t.” His brother attended two Indian boarding schools in Oklahoma, one was named Concho Indian Boarding School. It was a boarding school for Cheyenne and Arapaho tribal members and later opened up to other Native

American students (Dias, 1933). Concho existed from 1909 to 1983 and was located in central Oklahoma (Dias, 1933). He recalls his brother being on the football team. Henry doesn't recall the name of the other Indian boarding school his brother attended.

Henry said, "My parents threatened to send me to Chemawa Indian Boarding school, but they never did." Henry had a cousin who went to Chemawa. Henry's grandparents all went to Chemawa. In his family, they didn't talk very much about their experiences at the boarding schools.

### **Alcoholism, Drug Abuse, and Deaths**

Henry told me that there were 13 people in his family. His sister Amy died of tuberculosis before he was born. One winter night, his young brother David died when he was smothered to death in his bed. He was wrapped in blankets because they did not have heat in their shack. Another brother, Morals, was stillborn. One of his brothers died in the river when they went fishing. His brother had been drinking and he drowned.

Henry said that he has fond memories of spending time with his cousin when he was a child. His cousin was in the military and served in the war. He came home from the Army to visit. He was drinking one day and got tangled up in the fishing nets and drowned. He remembers his cousin was always good to him. He once gave him a special baseball glove. That is a treasured memory.

Henry said he had been an alcoholic during his life until the age of 45. He had tried to stop drinking, but the longest he could last was six months, and then he would start drinking again. He said he felt he needed alcohol to socialize. Finally, he realized that when you drink, the only time you'll enjoy yourself is the first hour or two. Later on, things just start going backwards. He realized, "It ain't good." Henry stopped drinking and life became more enjoyable.

Henry explained that his son died from drug issues, so he and his wife have been raising his grandchildren. They have been raising seven kids from the age of four to 19. He said he realizes now that he did not do enough to talk with his son about drugs and alcohol. He is not making that mistake with his grandchildren. Henry does everything he can to help educate his grandchildren about why they need to stay away from drugs and alcohol. Henry said his son died at the age of 34, just two years ago.

### **Loss of Language as a Child**

Henry recalls his parents minimally speaking their Native language. They used common basic phrases for, “Time to come in,” or “It’s time to eat.” Henry said he picked up on the basic phrases, but that’s all he ever knew of his Native language. His wife is Yakama, and she knows more of the Native language.

### **Racism**

It was mentioned earlier that Henry attended Fairwood Elementary School in the Puyallup Valley. Henry experienced racism while going to school there, but he did not realize it until he became an adult. He had an elementary teacher who always made him sit with one red-headed kid and two black girls. As a child, he did not think anything about it. Many years after his school days, he ran into the “red haired kid.” They sat down and had a conversation. He said to Henry, “Hey Hank! One Indian and one Jew, the two toughest kids in school! The teacher always made us sit with those two black girls.” Henry realized it was true. He, the Jewish boy, and the two black girls were singled out and made to sit way from the other children for classroom instruction. Henry said he did not realize racism was at work because he did not know his red-haired friend was Jewish. His friend said he always knew what was going on.

## **Encouragement and Discouragement of Education**

Henry said that he did pretty well in school, but that he was not encouraged to do well in school by his parents. He did well because he was a competitive person. He had some boys in the class who were friends of his and they were competitive with each other. He explained that his parents did not have enough education to help him with his studies. He said his parents went as far as the third or fourth grade. They could read and write, but they could not help him with school work. Henry said he got C's and B's in school and completed the eighth grade. He went on to Fife High School where he completed "a year or two." He said, "I got to running around when I was 14 or 15 years old." Henry said that he was gone from high school for a few days, sometimes a week, from school. He said he was out of high school by the time he turned 16, and he did not graduate.

I asked Henry, "When you were a little kid, did you ever think about what you wanted to do when you grew up?" Henry replied,

Some things that were not real, realistic. I mean I remember talking with Buzzy or with other kids about what we wanted to be. I know, the glorious ones that we'd seen in the pictures and the books and stuff like that. I wanna be a pilot, I wanna be a fireman, I mean, you know. There was stuff like that that weren't realistic, you know. But, I never really think about such things. I didn't even really – I think I kinda doubt. When I get older a little bit, yeah, even when I was 12, 14, 15 years old. Thinking about it, that was for rich people. College, stuff like that there. And I thought that everything was out of reach education-wise too.

I asked Henry, "Why did you think those thoughts? Why did you think it wasn't possible?" He replied, "I don't want to say nothing against my parents. My mother, my mother." I told Henry

that I thought the same kind of thoughts when I was a kid and even as a high-schooler. I told him, “I thought those thoughts because I never had any role models who went to college. I did not have any relatives to who did those things.” Henry replied, “I think all of us were probably the same way.”

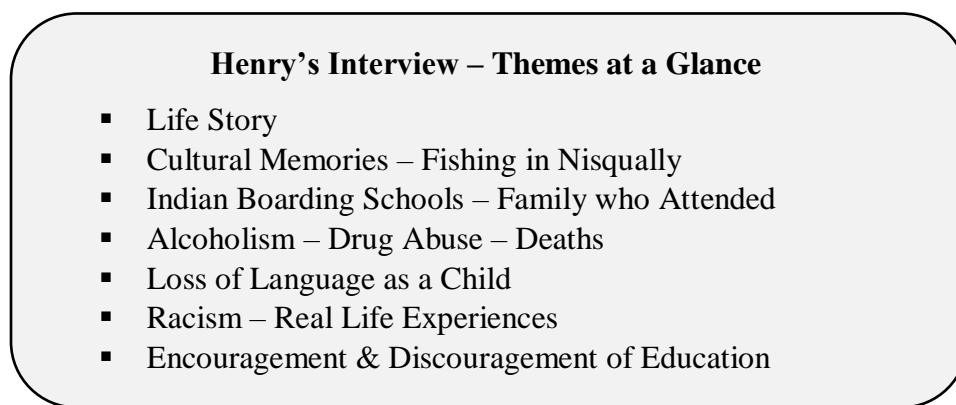
Henry said there was a time when his wife was taking classes at Tacoma Community College. He used to look at her homework and he had the feeling that he could do the work. He signed up for two classes at Tacoma Community College. They were introductory courses, the kind of class to help prepare you for college. He took an English writing class and a math class. To his surprise, he found the math harder than writing. After taking the classes he took a test and passed. He was given approval to start taking classes at Tacoma Community College. He did not take any college courses, he just wanted to prove to himself that he could go to college if he wanted to.

Henry tries to be encouraging to his grandchildren. He tells them, “You are very smart and have more ability than I do.” He also tells his grandchildren that they play too many video games. He tells them that playing video games will not help put food on the table.

The interview with Henry was very enlightening. His words spoke to my heart, spirit, and soul. The thoughts in his youth were my thoughts in my youth. The internalized oppression ran deep in Henry, and it ran deep within me. The difference between Henry and me was that I had a person in my life who told me to not think that way, that I could do whatever I wanted in life. This message did not come from my parents or any family member. This message of hope and big dreams came from my high school history teacher, Mr. Mathews. One day after history class in the tenth grade he asked me to stay behind to talk. He asked me if I was going to college, and I laughed heartily at him. Those thoughts were something that never crossed my mind. It simply

was not within my repertoire of something I could do. Over time, Mr. Mathews convinced me that I “had the right stuff” to be successful in college. When I graduated from the University of Missouri at St. Louis with my bachelor of science degree, I graduated Summa Cum Laude, and tied for first in my class. As I walked across the stage to graduate, I thought about Mr. Mathews and how appreciative I was that he encouraged me to do something I didn’t think was possible. I will think of Mr. Mathews again when I walk across the stage and get my PhD. Great teachers make a difference in the lives of their students. This is one of the reasons I became a teacher and dedicated my life to education. See Figure 15.0 below for emergent themes.

Figure 15.0



*Figure 15.0. Themes that emerged from Henry's interview.*

### **Peggy McCloud – Her Story**

Peggy McCloud is 63 years-old. Her father was Merrell McCloud. He was a Puyallup tribal member and served on tribal council. Her mother was Bernice Secena and she was from the Chehalis tribe. They had five children, three boys and two girls. Peggy's parents died at the age of 49 in 1973 and 1974, when she was 18 years-old. Her dad died in a car accident and her mother died from cancer.

Peggy (see Figure 16.0) began working at Chief Leschi Schools in the late 1970s. Her first job was at Hawthorne School Daycare. The daycare and Puyallup Tribal School operated in what was the old Hawthorne Elementary School, which had been borrowed from the Tacoma School District (“School History,” n.d.). In 1978, a new elementary school was built on tribal lands near the current Emerald Queen Casino. While the elementary students were housed in this lovely new building, the middle and high classes were held on the second and third floors of the tribal administration building which had previously been Cushman Indian Hospital or Cascadia. In 1991, federal engineers deemed it unsafe and that it would not withstand even a minor earthquake (“School History,” n.d.). We all knew we needed a school large enough to house our elementary, middle school, and high school students and in a safe structure.

Figure 16.0

**Peggy McCloud**



(Barehand, 2016) Used with permission.

*Figure 16.0. Peggy McCloud receives the “Enduring Spirit Award,” August 2016.*



## **Puyallup Tribal History**

Many of our tribal members lobbied hard to get a new school built. Peggy remembers the key leaders for securing funding for new school construction were Ramona Bennett, Bertha Turnipseed, Don Mathieson, Maiselle Bridges, Roleen Hargrove, Linda Rudolph, and Jay Simchen. Peggy said, “The air was filled with excitement because we knew our new school was going to become reality.”

At the old school and new school, Peggy worked as a culture teacher and director. Peggy explained, “Culture was always important in the school. Arrow George used to come in and sing with the children and speak the language. Joe Washington came into the classes with his family and sang too.” I recall Larry Lockwood working as culture teacher too, and he led the morning Circle with Peggy and Connie McCloud (the Puyallup Tribe Cultural Coordinator). Connie is Peggy’s sister.

Peggy said that Ramona Bennett named our school Chief Leschi Schools. The name was selected because, “We needed a strong name for our school.” Chief Leschi was the strongest elder that had died for us. Peggy said, “From the time they thought they would name the school Chief Leschi, they knew he was already going to love us. He knew of the future.” We learned from Ramona that every time we say “Chief Leschi,” he feels that he is honored. Peggy said, “We had been in a place where we had nothing, and now we have the strength to go forward with education.”

Peggy explained, “We knew we had picked the right location to build the new Chief Leschi School because the stories came alive on how our elders roamed the Puyallup valley.” Peggy felt so honored to be part of the building of the new school. Peggy said,

Our culture is so alive, and I am proud that I am a Puyallup tribal member. I remember

the first time we walked the ground to find the center of our property, for this was to be the center for our new school. The prayers began and continued for all of our children and their families. We knew our ancestors would take care and guide us. We knew the ground would be sacred and these grounds would be alcohol and drug-free.

Puyallup tribal member, Shaun Peterson, went to our elders seeking wisdom and blessings to carve the, "Return of the Story Pole." Carvers from up and down the coast came to help Shaun carve the legend on how the Puyallup river was created within the story pole. These stories help us to continue and live our lives as Puyallup people. It is important for us to interweave the teachings of our elders within our daily lives. When "Return of the Story Pole" was erected in 1996, at the entrance of the Chief Leschi Schools -- along with two large panels representing the Puyallup Tribe and the school itself -- it became the first traditional pole carved and raised to represent Puyallup tribal stories in more than half a century (Farr, 2015). See Figure 17 for a picture of the Puyallup Tribe Story Pole.

Figure 17.0

### **Puyallup Tribe of Indians – Return of the Story Pole**



(Chief Leschi Schools, 2018) Used with permission.

*Figure 17.0.* This is the Puyallup Tribe of Indians' Story Pole located at Chief Leschi Schools in Puyallup, Washington. Shaun Peterson, Puyallup tribal member, was the lead carver.

## **Tribal Culture**

Peggy's grandmother, Nancy Secena, was a well-known basket-weaver. She made baskets and blankets for a tribal women's club. They sold their goods and used the money for tribal members who needed assistance with their electric bills. There came a time when people lost interest in buying her baskets and this made her very sad. Peggy remembers her grandmother saying one day, "Oh Peggy, they don't want my baskets anymore. But, as soon as I weave it around a lotion bottle or a jar, they fly out of here. They just don't want to see my talent as a basket-weaver." Peggy said her grandmother's life was hard and this hit her deeply when people were no longer interested in her weaving. The baskets represented who she was, her culture, and her tribe.

## **Indian Boarding Schools and Internalized Oppression**

Peggy's grandmother, Nancy Secena, the basket-maker attended Indian boarding school. She shared stories with Peggy about the children being taken away from their parents, families and communities. She described how the children were whisked off to a boarding school. Grandmother Nancy raised all of Peggy's brothers and sisters in a very strict manner. She firmly told her children,

You are not going to learn the language. No! You are not going to learn, because times are changing. You are not going to learn to weave baskets either. You are going to get educated. You are going to have to go to school, you know, to make yourself better.

Peggy and her sister Connie both told me that their mother stood strong on education.

Grandmother Secena saw assimilation as the only option, and she worked hard to discourage her family members from knowing their language and culture.

Peggy said that she and her sister Connie never understood why their mother was so strict about them not learning about their culture. Peggy said, “I didn’t understand it, until I lost my parents, then it became clear.” Peggy said that she and Connie did research and then they now understand why it happened.

It was their grandmother, Nancy Secena, who was so strict with their mother and everyone in the family. She forbade everyone from learning the language and the culture. Peggy said her family believed in corporal punishment and she was spanked. Ramona Bennett said in her interview that her mother used corporal punishment and she was spanked. My mother also used corporal punishment and I remember my brother getting spanked. Perhaps there is an intergenerational connection between the harsh discipline tactics used in Indian boarding schools and the corporal punishment discipline measures that were used in the Native families that were interviewed.

Grandmother Secena told Peggy’s mother and her aunts, uncles, and siblings, “Our culture is not a good way.” The internalized oppression was strong, and their cultural identity was taken away from them. It’s clear that some of our ancestors did not understand the importance of culture and its vital role in our lives. Peggy said, “We are losing our identity and we can’t do that because identity is everything. Identity is belonging. We have to instill our culture and language within our children.” We have to have that feeling of belonging, but we have to have buy-in from everyone. She said, “We can’t lose our identity, we can’t lose our language. We have to learn our culture. It’s like basket weaving, over, under, over, under. We have to weave it into everything we do.”

Peggy’s grandfather, Murphy Secena, spoke the language fluently. Peggy said tapes exists of her grandfather speaking and singing. Her grandfather told Peggy, “It was hard

throughout boarding school. It was a hard time of Indian war. All of our tribal leaders had to go underground because they wanted to kill them. Chief Kitsap and Chief Leschi were being hunted.” Her grandfather shared with Peggy how difficult it was being in boarding school when he knew his leaders’ lives were in jeopardy.

Peggy shared what she had learned from Ramona Bennett: When disease hits our community, we will survive. When the measles and chickenpox were evident in our communities, the authorities did not take the sick children to the boarding schools. It is these children who stayed home and remained fluent in the language and culture. It is these children who carried forth the language to future generations. Let’s remember that disease played a significant purpose in our history.

### **Education Helped the Community with Gang Violence**

Peggy remembers a time 10 to 12 years ago when gang violence was high in the tribal community. She said, “We were losing our young men, and it as devastating to all of us.” But today, she conveyed that our communities, tribe, and families have support and are stronger. There is a new way of life for our families, and the issue of gang violence was addressed through education. Peggy said, “Through knowledge, we can put forth stronger prevention measures.” Education has its positive benefits for our tribal membership.

### **Family Life**

Peggy said that her mother strongly believed in community work and instilled those values in all of her children. Her father was highly involved with sports. Peggy said she played sports from the time she could walk. Their family participated in tribal baseball tournaments. Peggy and her siblings participated in fishing activities with their father. He fished by canoe using a long stick. He would take his canoe across the Nisqually river. Even though she and her

siblings did a lot of fishing with their father, their mother would not allow any of them to participate in the fishing movement. Their mother didn't want them involved in it.

## **Alcoholism**

Peggy said she was an alcoholic until 1988 and she said, "It is only by the grace of God that I am still here." Your spirit never leaves you. Peggy explained, "What happens with drugs and alcohol is, it deadens our spirit. The longer you are sober, the longer it comes alive and restores your energy." Peggy said she had a very strong leader in her alcoholism recovery journey and he told her:

You know alcoholism. You are going to have to find a replacement for it. I want you to imagine how big alcoholism was in your life. You are going to have to refill it that big.

That is how big you are going to have to replace it.

Peggy wondered what she would replace alcoholism with. She asked herself the question, "What has made me happy?" She realized what made her happy was the memory of her grandmother Secena weaving and her kind spirit. Peggy said, "That is what I am going to do. I am going to learn to weave."

At the moment, she made this decision, Peggy felt her spirit come alive! She began attending women's conferences on drugs and alcohol. She was doing everything that would help feed her spirit. Four years after she made the decision to become sober, her sister Connie said to her, "I am going to hold strong and I will give you an Indian name." Following proper protocol Peggy visited with Cecilia Carpenter. Connie gave Peggy the name Skacalitzah (Ska-call-it-ah). Tribal elder Ernie Bar told Peggy, "You will have to spend the rest of your life trying to understand and find the meaning of your name." Peggy wondered how she would find the meaning of her name.

Sometime later, Peggy was attending a fish ceremony with the Puyallup tribe. Bruce Miller was leading the fish ceremony. When the fish ceremony was over, Puyallup tribal elder, Gloria Bean stood up and said, “I want to thank Skacalitzah for bringing children to the ceremony today. It is important for our children to witness and participate in the ceremony.” Just then, Bruce Miller stood up and said, “I know the meaning of Skacalitzah. It is a beautiful name. ‘Litzah’ means weaver. This name means ‘weaver of pure faith.’” What was so profound was when Peggy sobered up on August 8, 1988, she knew within her spirit that it was her grandmother’s weaving that had impacted her life in such a positive way.

When you receive your Indian name, you have to be strong spiritually and culturally. When you receive your name, you will never walk alone again. Your name exists and it is going to protect you, just like the Creator. It is so powerful and it can bring miracles. Peggy said,

The Creator I have, has grabbed me because I have felt it and seen it in my life. This Creator walks with me, and He has helped me through the hardest of times. I have seen miracles. Each and every day, I know, I do not have to walk alone. This knowledge premises me, it balances me, and it keeps me.

Peggy’s name is Skacalitzah – my name is Kivalahula. We will never walk alone in this life.

Peggy believes that we all have Native American spirituality within us. She said, “This Creator has been with us since we were in the womb of our mother, we hear the rhythm of the heartbeat. We hear the rhythm of her song. We all have a song within us.” When you can hear that song, you will have healing in your life.

### **Tribal School Staff Development and the Teaching of Culture**

Language and culture needs to be an integral component for the education of Native American students. Peggy understands what cultural instruction needs to look like in a tribal

school. She was the Cultural Coordinator for Chief Leschi Schools for two decades before moving on to be the Program Director of the Grandview Early Learning Center. In her job, she managed all of the cultural programs for the school district and the cultural instructional delivery. Peggy thinks what doesn't work is the commonly used formula of having a culture teacher or assistant rotate amongst classrooms for 30 or 60-minute culture lessons. She feels it doesn't give students enough cultural instruction. Peggy believes that language and culture need to be interwoven throughout the entire curriculum and instructional day. She explained, "We want it infused in everything they are doing in the classroom from 'Let's line-up' to 'Let's wash our hands' or 'You look wonderful today.'" This means teachers and assistants have to have complete buy-in and be trained in Twulshootseed and the culture. She said for her educational programs at Grandview Early Learning Center, "Language is written into every literacy grant they write." She hopes to see a similar cultural program at Chief Leschi Schools in the future.

Peggy provides financial incentives to her staff for learning the language. As they learn the language they progress through different levels. After they successfully pass level one, they receive a \$500 gift certificate. I can see how this is possible at Grandview Early Learning Center because they have a small staff. It would be a financial challenge to come up with a \$500 stipend for all of the teachers and assistants at Chief Leschi Schools. The school would have to write a grant to fund it, as Peggy has done.

Peggy believes there needs to be cultural sensitivity and information training in the pre-service days at the beginning of the school year. Ideally, the training would be conducted by a panel of tribal elders and culturally trained staff members. She believes the non-Native staff in particular, need to have the opportunity to participate in a training to learn about our Puyallup



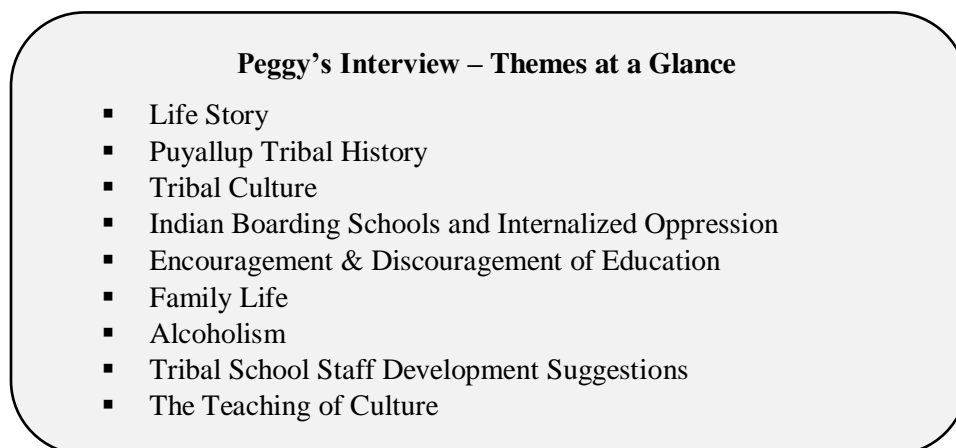
culture with emphasis on tribal history and how the school came to be. They need to understand the struggles of our dedicated elders and tribal members who fought for this school. She said:

“The school didn’t just come out of the blue. They need to know where this school came from so they have an understanding and appreciation. We still have Ramona Bennett, Bertha Turnipseed, Don Mathieson, and Roleen Hargrove, and they need to comprise the panel.”

Peggy said there have been occasional trainings, but it hasn’t been consistent over the years. She thinks there needs to be a stronger emphasis on culture and language, and it has to be more than just Culture Day. Peggy believes that language and culture need to be taught daily and in a very integrated way at all grade levels with daily instructional goals established.

Peggy suggested it is possible the school can go theme-based. This would require culture teachers to create instructional kits and have them available for staff. The teachers would have to be trained on how to use them. Peggy emphasized that teacher buy-in is essential, in order to have continuity and that can occur through the panel training with our elders and culturally trained staff. Peggy believes, “That old way with just the culture teachers teaching, isn’t going to cut it. Everybody has to teach it and it needs to be interweaved into all subject areas. Who will win in the end is the kids.” See Figure 18.0 below for emergent themes from Peggy’s interview.

Figure 18



*Figure 18.0.* Themes that emerged from Peggy’s interview.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **THE FINDINGS, DEEP THEMES, AND DISCUSSION**

Let's begin the chapter on findings and discussion by reviewing the purpose of the study and the research questions. The purpose of the study was to perform oral history interviews with eight Puyallup tribal elders and determine if intergenerational historical trauma has affected their attitudes, life choices, and educational outcomes. Of the eight tribal elders who are featured in this dissertation, one attended Chemawa Indian Boarding School in Oregon, and six others had either parents or grandparents who attended an Indian boarding school. When asked about Indian boarding schools, the eighth elder said, "I do not know anything about Indian boarding schools." This elder had a Puyallup tribal mother who was an alcoholic and a father who worked long hours as a laborer every day at a vegetable farm. This elder grew up in foster care away from his Indian family, culture, and tribal traditions. We will explore the findings from these elders' oral history stories and determine how they answer the central research question and subquestions.

The central research question for this study is: How does unresolved, intergenerational, historical trauma impact the educational journeys of Puyallup tribal members? Within the oral history stories, the participants talked about their families and shared their experiences and knowledge of Puyallup tribal history, Indian boarding schools, culture, and our traditional ways. The oral history stories are featured in Chapter 4. They provide a thick and rich descriptions of the participants and their life stories. The reader can easily infer from reading their stories the answers to subquestions one and five: 1) What were the lived experiences of Puyallup tribal elders? and 5) What do today's Puyallup tribal elders know of the lived experiences of their ancestors?

The answers for subquestions two through four are weaved within the answer for the central research question. This discussion will identify the participant answers to the central research question, while explaining how it links to the corresponding subquestions. Finally, interpretations of the findings will be related to the overall purpose of the study and literature with suggested applications for the tribal school setting.

Subquestions two through four are: 2) In what ways (if any) did Puyallup tribal elders experience intergenerational historical trauma? 3) How did the forced removal of Puyallup tribal children to Indian boarding schools impact family life, attitudes toward education, career choices, healthy or unhealthy lifestyles, and life success? 4) In what ways did attendance at Indian boarding schools affect feelings of self-worth and self-efficacy for our ancestors and their descendants?

In addition to discussing the responses to the research questions, we will examine the ideas and suggestions provided by two participants concerning their ideas and suggestions for development of a tribal school staff development program focused on decolonization. The overarching goal of this staff development plan would be to provide learning opportunities for staff members about Puyallup tribal history and how it connects to historical and cultural trauma that our ancestors endured. Tribal elders would provide information that would explain the connection to historical trauma and what steps we can implemented in the classroom environment to promote positive attitudes toward education.

The emergent themes from this study are identified in Figure 19. This summary diagram illustrates that seven of eight participants possess knowledge about Puyallup tribal history. Larry Reynon is the only person that does not have knowledge of Puyallup tribal history because was raised in foster care from the age of five and removed from his Puyallup tribal heritage and

Figure 19

## Participants' Emergent Themes

General Themes	Shirley Satiacum	Teresa Harvey	Ramona Bennett	Raymond McCloud	Susan Dillon	Larry Reynon	Henry John	Peggy McCloud
* Knowledge of Puyallup tribal history	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
* Knowledge and experience with Puyallup tribal culture	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Knowledge of Indian boarding schools	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Family member(s) went to boarding school(s)	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
* Family life, separation within family	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Alcoholism, drug abuse, deaths in family			X	X	X	X	X	X
Self-reveal of recovering alcoholic status w/o being asked			X	X	X		X	X
Overall loss of culture, language, Indigenous identity	Loss of language only.	X Deep sense of loss.	Loss of language only.	Loss of language only.	X	X	Loss of language only.	X Deep sense of loss.
Lost culture as a child found it in adulthood		X			X	X		X
Internalized oppression evident		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Encouragement of education from family		X	X		X			X
Non-encouragement of education in some way		↑	↑	X	↓ Received both		X	
Tribal tournament baseball games as a social & cultural outlet		X	X	↑	↑ X		↑	X
* Importance of spirituality and belief in Creator	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Witnessed violence toward tribal members (e.g. Fishing Wars)	X		X	X	X		X	X
Tribal school staff development		X						X
Age of Participant	84	66	80	65	61	73	77	63
Highest Level of Education	High School Drop-out	Bachelor's Degree	Master's Degree	GED Required for job	GED Required for job	High School Diploma	High School Drop-out	Community College Coursework

Figure 19.0. This chart illustrates emergent themes for each elder. Three themes emerged for all eight elders. Those themes are identified with an asterisk and highlighted horizontally.

community. He also does not know if anyone in his family attended Indian boarding schools. His mother died at the age of 40, and they never had a conversation about it. Larry was disassociated from his Puyallup tribal heritage until his mother's death. Upon her passing, he got acquainted with his Puyallup tribal family. He was invited to join them and learn about his culture. He embraced this invitation and integrated his family within the tribe. The internalized oppression he experienced as a child came largely from being raised as a foster child. The foster parents had two biological children and they constantly reminded him that he was "just a foster child." Though he said, he has no complaints because his basic needs were met by his foster family.

### **Native American Children in Foster Care**

The government historically did not consider American Indian families as appropriate places to raise American Indian children (Evans-Campbell, 2008). This message may have caused internalized oppression making parents doubt themselves, their parenting abilities, and their traditional ways. Children were removed from their homes and communities and subjected to assimilationist strategies. American Indian parents were punished for practicing their cultural and spiritual ways (Adams, 1995). Native American children were placed in foster care at rates that far exceed their representation in the overall population of children (Lawler, Laplante, Giger, & Norris, 2012). Native American children represent approximately 1% of the overall child population in the country yet 2% of the foster care population are Native American (Casey Family Programs, 2010).

Elder Larry Reynon was born in 1945. He and his brother were removed from their home and placed in foster care when Larry was in kindergarten because his mother was an alcoholic and his father worked 14 hours a day as a farm laborer. He grew up on foster care and lived

there until graduation from high school. The Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA) of 1978 was developed 33 years after Larry was born in response to the long-term practices of placing Native American children outside their families and communities. It gave tribes the right to intervene in court proceedings regarding foster care or adoption placement decisions involving their children. Ramona Bennett, former Chairwoman of the Puyallup Tribe, and one of my interviewees, was a leader in securing passage of the Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978 (Portland State University, 2018).

### **Alcoholism, Drug Abuse, and Parenting**

I did not ask any questions about alcoholism or drug abuse during the oral history interviews. The questions did not even hint at the topic, yet six out of eight of the interviewed elders spoke about how it has impacted their lives. Two of the elders began their interview wanting to talk about the role alcoholism in their lives and their recovery before they responded to the first question that was asked.

It is believed that historical trauma may manifest itself by using alcohol (Oetting & Beauvais, 1989) and drugs for Indian youth. The frequency and intensity of drinking is greater, and the negative consequences are more prevalent and severe for Indian youths. The age at first involvement with alcohol is younger for Indian youths (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998). There may be a relationship of alcoholism and substance abuse with impaired Native parenting resulting from historical trauma, specifically associated with the boarding school experience (Brave Heart, 2003). The legacy of trauma history regarding boarding schools has negatively impacted Native families. Risk factors for substance abuse, violence, mental illness, and other family problems may be exacerbated by a negative response to intergenerational historical trauma (Brave Heart, 1999b; Holm 1994). Generations of untreated historical trauma victims

may pass on this trauma to subsequent generations (Brave Heart, 1998). The boarding school experience deprived Native families of traditional parenting role models, impairing their capacity to effectively parent.

Parental and other intergenerational boarding school experiences negatively impacted the protective factors against alcoholism and substance abuse. What was lacking was parental emotional availability, parental competence, emotional support, and parental involvement with their children's lives. Parents raised in boarding schools were more likely to have experienced trauma as children. The boarding school legacy negatively impacted parental interaction with children and contributed to risk factors for youth substance abuse (Brave Heart, 1998, 1999a). The boarding school experience put parents at risk for parenting incompetence. The lack of effective parenting role models, opportunities to provide a nurturing home life, as well as abuse in boarding schools resulted in uninvolved, non-nurturing, punitive, and authoritarian parenting (Brave Heart, 2000).

There are protective family factors that can help our Native families. An emphasis on traditional culture may mitigate alcoholism and substance abuse (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998). Positive family relations with supervision, monitoring, and anti-drug family norms serve as protective factors against youth substance abuse (Nye, Zucker & Fitzgerald, 1995). Protective family factors include high parental involvement, bonding with family and social groups that value nonuse of alcohol and other substances, external social support, positive discipline methods, and spiritual involvement (Brave Heart 1999a). Native parents must be encouraging with their children and help them think about what the possibilities are for their lives. This is a challenge for American Indian families who carry a legacy of disempowerment and internalized

oppression. Parents need to help their children find their spiritual purpose by incorporating traditional prayer and ceremonies into family life (Brave Heart, 2003).

### **Participant Knowledge and Experience with their Culture**

Eight of eight of the participants have knowledge and experience with the Puyallup tribal culture. Three of the interviewees have extensive tribal and cultural knowledge. Peggy McCloud worked as the Cultural Coordinator for Chief Leschi Schools for approximately 20 years. Teresa Harvey worked as a first grade teacher and culture teacher at Chief Leschi Schools for over 30 years. Ramona Bennett has been a Puyallup tribal leader and well-known activist during her lifetime. Raymond McCloud has been active in almost all tribal activities during his adult life. All eight elders have knowledge of tribal culture and all participate in cultural events regularly.

### **The Indian Fishing Wars**

In the interviews with the Puyallup tribal elders, six out of eight had vivid memories and stories about the fish-ins, also called Fish Wars, and more commonly referred to as the Fishing Wars. The Fishing Wars began on March 3, 1964, when thousands of people gathered in Olympia, Washington, the state capital, for the largest intertribal demonstration ever held (Shreve, 2009). Tribal members from many different tribes danced in front of the governor's mansion and organizers gave speeches demanding Washington State acknowledge treaty rights. Historically, the most important civil rights issue for Native Americans in Washington State has been fishing rights (Chrisman, 2008). Many well-known activist groups and concerned individuals joined the struggle, which featured the "fish-in" protests. The National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) organized the "fish-ins," which was a civil disobedience tactic designed to result in arrests and bring media attention to the state's persistent violation of Native people's fishing rights, as guaranteed by federal treaties (Shreve, 2009).



Fishing is very important to Puyallup tribal members. The salmon is a primary source of food and it is believed to keep the world in balance. Puyallup Indians have a spiritual connection with salmon. The Medicine Creek Treaty guaranteed Puyallup tribal members, “the right of taking fish at all the usual and custom grounds and stations,” and confirmed their right to fish (Shreve, 2009). In the decades that followed, public memory of the treaties began to fade and the popularity of sport fishing began to increase. Into the twentieth century, the state continued to enact more laws with sweeping restrictions that would bring the Indians of the Pacific Northwest in line with the state fish and game laws (Isely, 1970). Public Law 280 was passed in 1953 and jeopardized the tribe’s efforts to preserve treaty rights. Native people rightly viewed this law as a threat to their sovereignty (Isely, 1970).

The first arrest came in 1954, when Puyallup tribal member Robert Satiacum challenged the game laws by intentionally gillnetting out of season without a license (Shreve, 2009). Conflict between Indian fishers and state authorities escalated in the 1960s when game wardens stepped up their raids and created a rising tension. State authorities had used force to stop Native fishers from freely casting their nets along the Puyallup and Nisqually rivers (Shreve, 2009). Native activists decided they would employ the same tactics used by the civil rights activists, namely protest marches and sit-ins. The Puyallup and Nisqually Tribe of Indians fisher activists held countless fish-ins. The fish-ins created a new spirit and renewed courage among Native people (Shreve, 2009). The NIYC contacted actor Marlon Brando about the fish-ins, believing his presence would attract greater media attention to their cause. On March 1, 1964, Marlon Brando and Reverend John J. Yaryan, an Episcopal priest from San Francisco’s Grace Cathedral, cast their gillnets into the Puyallup River (Shreve, 2009). They were arrested but released a short time later. News of the fish-ins and Brando’s arrest was splashed across the

front pages of newspapers and even flowed through national news wires (Chrisman, 2008). Actress Jane Fonda and comedian Dick Gregory also joined Puyallup and Nisqually tribal activism efforts.

The fish-in movement to protect Northwest Indians' treaty rights continued full-force into the late 1960s and early 1970s, and some arrests led to high profile court cases (Shreve, 2009). Often times, the fish-ins resulted in violence, such as in October 1970 when police indiscriminately shot tear gas at Native fishers and arrested over 60 people. On January 19, 1971, and unidentified assailant shot Hank Adams in the stomach while he slept in his car near the Puyallup River (Shreve, 2009). Many of our Puyallup tribal elders remembered their family members being treated violently by authorities on the banks of the Puyallup river.

The fish-ins led directly to the most important legal case in the Native American fishing debate in the past one hundred and twenty years (Chrisman, 2008). The Northwest Indians and Native activists finally achieved a breakthrough when the U.S. district court ruled in favor of the Indians in 1974, in the case, *United States vs. Washington* (Shreve, 2009). This became known as the *Bolt Decision*. The decision represented a near-total vindication of Indian treaty rights. It was ruled that Native Americans were entitled to take up to 50 percent of the harvestable fish and that they should have equal part in the management of the fishing industry through a tribal fisheries commission (Chrisman, 2008). The nation's highest court, the Supreme Court, settled the matter in 1979, when it upheld Judge Bolt's decision and closed the case to future review (Prucha, 1986).

One of the greatest leaders of the Fishing Wars movement was Billy Frank Jr., my great uncle. He committed his life to protecting the Nisqually people's traditional way of life and to protecting the endangered salmon whose survival is the focus of tribal life (Marritz, 2009).

During his life, he was arrested more than 50 times in the Fishing Wars of the 1960s and 1970s because of his intense dedication to the treaty fishing rights cause. In November 2015, President Barack Obama announced that Billy Frank Jr. would receive a posthumous Presidential Medal of Freedom (“President Obama,” 2015). The following month, the Nisqually National Wildlife Refuge was renamed in Frank's honor (“Nisqually Refuge,” 2015).

### **My Life Experience and Connections with Historical Trauma**

Prior to facilitating the oral history interviews, I had preconceived thoughts about what the study results might be. I have life experience with intergenerational historical trauma. My grandmother, Elsie McCloud Capoeman, and my grandfather, Glenn Sireech, met at the Chemawa Indian Boarding School. Like Larry Reynon, my Indian grandparents were alcoholics and my mother grew up in foster care away from her tribal community, language, and traditions. During my formative years growing up, my mother did not encourage me with my education. She did make a comment once when I was in high school that I should take a typing class, so I could grow up and be a secretary. I told her I was not interested in being a secretary, that I wanted to go to college and become a teacher. She didn't say anything to me about it. To her, it seemed like it was out of her repertoire of thinking. My father who is non-Indian, did not encourage me either. The only reason I went to college is because a high school teacher encouraged me and demonstrated complete confidence that I would be successful. If I had not met this teacher, I seriously doubt I would have gone to college. The internalized oppression ran deep within me. I lacked confidence in myself as a potential college student and I certainly did not visualize myself ever graduating.

I worked at Chief Leschi Schools, our Puyallup tribal school and a Bureau of Indian Education school for twenty years. I was a teacher, counselor, and educational leader before

enrolling in this program at the University of Hawai'i. Numerous times when I went to work, I observed apathy toward education by our parents and their extended family members. They often enrolled their children in school when it was convenient and not when school started. I rarely saw children's literature available in their homes when I went on home visits. I often observed a lack of support for the teachers by the parents. For two decades, I assumed that members of the tribal community were not encouraged with their education, and their life story was similar to mine.

### **Theoretical Support for Gadamer**

When I studied about the phenomenology foundational theorists, the ideas of Gadamer and Heidegger naturally resonated with me. Gadamer believed that all understandings are based on our historicity of being and they will involve a level of prejudice. Gadamer believed the idea of bracketing was absurd (Annells, 1996), and I agreed with him. How could I possibly bracket off twenty years of job experience, and living and working in my own tribal school community? To me, it didn't seem logical or possible.

### **Disequilibrium Takes Hold and Bracketing is the Solution**

The day came when it was time to sit down and analyze the data from my study. I was very surprised to realize the findings were incongruent with what I thought was true. The disequilibrium within my thinking was strong, and I realized I had to bracket off my pre-conceived thoughts, in order to arrive at a logical and accurate conclusion. It took about three days of deep thinking and soul searching to let go of what I thought was true, in order to allow me to think objectively about what was revealed in the findings. I realized what Husserl said about bracketing is an important step, and one I had to do while I was trying to understand the findings and come to understandings about what had been revealed in the findings.

## **Educational Encouragement for Three of the Elders**

In this study of eight Puyallup tribal elders, three of the eight, had received encouragement during their life with education. All three individuals experienced internalized oppression during their lives in regards to their culture. Two of the three who had received encouragement with their education are recovering alcoholics. Ramona has been sober since 1971 and Peggy has been sober since 1988. Both women credited their cultural traditions, spirituality, and the Creator for helping them with their recovery. These three elders who received educational encouragement during their lives are the only three who studied beyond the high school level. Peggy McCloud has taken coursework in early childhood education at a community college. Teresa Harvey is a certified teacher with a Bachelor's degree and has many credits and clock-hours beyond her initial degree and teacher certification. Ramona Bennett has a Master's degree in Counseling Education from the University of Puget Sound.

What sets apart these three individuals who went to school beyond high school from the others? All three were encouraged with their education in some way. Like me, it was someone within their *circle of trust* who encouraged them. The feelings of disequilibrium within me stemmed from the idea that I thought none of the interviewed elders would have been encouraged with their education. I should have realized that a person who goes to college was probably inspired by someone at some point in their life, but I just assumed for many years that people in my tribal community were not encouraged. My pre-conceived thoughts were wrong, because some people were encouraged.

**The Unique Stories of the Encouraged Elders.** Each of the three women had a unique story of educational encouragement. Ramona's message of encouragement came to her from a

story from her mother. She spoke to Ramona about life in the boarding schools. One day she told Ramona about the children who were beaten, and she also said:

When you think about it, you're very lucky to have this education. White people only go to school until the sixth, seventh, or eighth grade and then they are expected to work around the farm or in a factory. Indian kids are lucky, they have educational opportunities until they are 16. You are lucky to be here. You know, you've got nothing to cry about. These people from Europe and the East Coast have donated money so you could have this opportunity.

Ramona heard the stories of the atrocities that occurred in the boarding schools, but she also heard the message, "You are lucky to have this educational opportunity, and you've got nothing to cry about." So, even with the stories of beatings, the overall thought conveyed is that education is a good thing and something to be grateful for.

Teresa's story involved her Gramps and her mother. One day he said these words of advice, "If you are going to survive in this world, you are going to have to be educated. You're going to have to work hard." Her mother told her, "You have to prove yourself to people. You have to be smart and know what you can do. You have to work a job." This message to Teresa was encouraging. It told her that she had to be smart. She derived from this message that she had to go to college and learn. She had to work hard, have a job, and prove herself. This message gave her the push to enroll in college and study to be a teacher. She worked hard to prove to everyone that she was a good teacher. She said she remembered thinking about her mother's words when she was in college and taking her hardest class. She let those words from her mother inspire her. Teresa said she always worked hard and wanted to prove to everyone that

she was a good teacher because her mother told her to do it. When times got hard and she felt like giving up, she thought of her mother's words.

Peggy's educational inspiration story is quite different and very compelling. Peggy's family "stood very strong on education," but for deeply oppressive reasons. Peggy's grandmother, Nancy Secena, had attended an Indian boarding school. Grandmother Nancy firmly told her children:

You are not going to learn the language. No! You are not going to learn, because times are changing. You are not going to learn to weave baskets either. You are going to get educated. You are going to have to go to school, you know, to make yourself better. Our culture is not a good way.

Grandmother Secena saw assimilation as the only option, and she worked hard to discourage her family members from wanting to know their language and culture. Peggy said when they grew up, education was highly encouraged and participating in cultural activities was absolutely forbidden. Peggy also said she was told she could not participate in the Indian Fishing Wars protests when they occurred.

This finding is something I would have never predicted – that education would be encouraged, in order to become more acculturated. It is interesting that Grandmother Nancy wasn't able to comprehend that education and culture do not have to be mutually exclusive. The boarding school experience led to loss of language and erasure of culture for Peggy's family. Her grandmother believed that complete assimilation was the only option.

### **Community-Level Responses to Historical Trauma**

Community-level responses to the impact of historical trauma have perhaps been the most insidious (Evans-Campbell, 2008). The boarding school experience was traumatic not only

for the children who had to attend, but also for the community and had dire consequences. As children were removed from their communities, they were also subjected to assimilationist strategies and punished for practicing cultural and spiritual ways (Adams, 1995). Indian boarding schools contributed significantly to the loss of language and other traditional practices (Evans-Campbell, 2008). In any community, the loss of children has profound implications, including the loss of future tribal leaders and the ability to safeguard its language and culture. This occurred over generations through forced Indian boarding school attendance. Federal policies supported the transracial adoption and fostering-out of American Indian and Alaska Native children. Removing children from their homes and tribal community and placing them in boarding schools, transracial adoption placement, or in foster homes sends the strong message that the government does not consider American Indian or Alaskan Native families appropriate places to raise children (Evans-Campbell, 2008).

### **Educational Non-Encouragement for Three of the Elders**

In this study of eight Puyallup tribal elders, three of the eight, had received discouragement during their life with education. All three of the individuals experienced internalized oppression during their lives in regards to their educational journey. Additionally, all three of the elders are recovering alcoholics. What is interesting about this is the participants in this study were not asked questions about alcoholism. None of the questions even hinted at the subject, yet five of eight of the participants self-revealed their recovering alcoholic status and provided details as to how it has impacted their lives. All five participants who discussed their alcoholism and steps toward recovery have unique inspirational stories. All five credited their cultural traditions, spirituality, and the Creator for helping them with their recovery.



**The Unique Stories of the Non-Encouraged Elders.** Susan Dillon is the one participant who received both positive and negative educational encouragement. Susan said that she felt overall, she was not encouraged by her parents with her education during her years growing up. However, there was one time her mother said something encouraging and she still vividly remembers it. Susan's mother did not go to school and taught herself how to read and write. Her mother struggled to sign a school permission slip that she brought home. One time her father said to her mom, "You can do it, you can do it," while she was trying to put her signature to a page. Her mother said, "I never went to school and that is why school is important. I have struggled to learn to read and write." This is the only time Susan recalls any kind of encouragement from either of her parents. Susan dropped out of high school when she was in the 11<sup>th</sup> grade because she became pregnant. When she was 26 years old she wanted a job with the Puyallup Tribe, but they required a high school diploma or a GED. She took GED courses at the Medicine Creek College and received her GED and a job with the tribe. Susan has six adult children, two graduated from high school, one has her G.E.D., and three dropped out of school.

Raymond McCloud experienced a very negative situation when he was in elementary school with his teacher. He attended a Catholic school, which was the only school in the area. When he was a young learner his teacher got angry with him because he did not know his ABCs. Raymond could only say them to D. The teacher made him put out his hands and he slapped them with a ruler. This made Raymond angry. He decided he was going to rebel and not learn his ABCs. To this very day, Raymond only knows half of the ABCs. He said this experience turned him off to organized religion, especially Catholicism for his entire life.

Raymond quit school when he was in high school so he could work as a fisherman. He always worked as a fisherman and usually missed the first month or two of the school year

because he was busy working. This put him behind every year in his studies. Raymond found himself in treatment for alcoholism when he was 25 years old. At that time, he was told to get his GED while he was in treatment or he would have to go to jail. It was a 30-day treatment program and he had exactly 3 weeks to study. He said, “I lucked out, I barely passed, but I passed.”

The deepest of internalized oppression occurred with Henry John. Henry did pretty well in school, but he was not encouraged with his education by his parents. He did well because he was a competitive person. He had some boys in the class and they were competitive with each other. He explained that his parents did not have enough education to help him with his studies. Henry went to high school for “a year or two” and dropped out when he turned 16.

During the interview I asked Henry a question and his response was thought provoking. I wrote about it in Chapter 4, but it merits retelling in this chapter. I asked Henry, “When you were a little kid, did you ever think about what you wanted to do when you grew up?” Henry replied,

Some things that were not real, realistic. I mean I remember talking with Buzzy or with other kids about what we wanted to be. I know, the glorious ones that we'd seen in the pictures and the books and stuff like that. I wanna be a pilot, I wanna be a fireman, I mean, you know. There was stuff like that that weren't realistic, you know. But, I never really think about such things. I didn't even really – I think I kinda doubt. When I get older a little bit, yeah, even when I was 12, 14, 15 years old. Thinking about it, that was for rich people. College, stuff like that there. And I thought that everything was out of reach education-wise too.

I asked Henry, “Why did you think those thoughts? Why did you think it wasn’t possible?” He replied, “I don’t want to say nothing against my parents. My mother, my mother.” When he spoke those words with his unwavering soft voice, the power of his words filled my heart, mind, and soul with remembrances of self-doubt and low feelings of self-efficacy. For a moment, I felt like his words took my breath away. His words transported me back to the tenth grade when I had the same kind of thoughts. I immediately visualized myself sitting in class talking with Mr. Mathews about going to college. When he told me I should go to college, I laughed. The idea of it seemed ludicrous and absurd – just as it did for Henry when he thought about becoming a pilot or fireman. Henry did not visualize his dream job as a remote possibility, and I know just how he felt. Henry thought education was for rich people and it was something that was out-of-reach. What this study had done has emphasized the importance of encouraging our young learners. Educational encouragement at any age is remembered and taken-to-heart by our Native children. It needs to be emphasized in all tribal schools that our young learners need to be encouraged with their studies.

### **The Cultural Leaders for Chief Leschi Schools and the Puyallup Tribe**

Two of the elders interviewed have extensive professional experience in P-12 tribal school education and in the teaching of Puyallup Salish culture. Peggy McCloud has worked for the Puyallup Tribe for over 30 years. For 20 of those years she worked at Chief Leschi Schools as the Cultural Coordinator for the school district. In her position, she supervised all aspects of the culture programs. She was responsible for managing the staff and the culture instructional delivery for the P-12 school. Peggy left Chief Leschi Schools ten years ago and became the program director for the Puyallup Tribe’s Grandview Early Learning Center, which provides educational services in early childhood education. Her program works in partnership with Chief

Leschi Schools, the Department of Education, and the Puget Sound Educational Service District office.

Teresa Harvey worked for over 30 years at Chief Leschi Schools and retired in June 2018. During her career, she taught first grade for approximately 20 years and was the elementary culture teacher for 10 years. She also performed the work responsibilities of the cultural coordinator for the P-5 elementary school. Teresa is a certified teacher for the state of Washington.

Peggy's sister, Connie, has worked for the Puyallup Tribe for over 30 years in the positions of cultural coordinator and director of the youth center. It could probably be said that the three of them are the most knowledgeable people in the Puyallup tribe in regards to culture. Connie is the person who takes the lead planning the cultural events for the Puyallup Tribe. For three decades, it was Peggy and Teresa who planned the cultural teachings and events for Chief Leschi Schools. All three of them have extensive knowledge of historical trauma and how it has impacted our tribe.

### **Suggestions for the Teaching of Culture and Tribal School Staff Development**

Peggy McCloud has been actively providing cultural education for her families at the Grandview Early Learning Center for the past ten years. She has worked in partnership with the Native American Early Learning Project for four years providing cultural, literacy, and outdoor learning activities for her students and their families. The Native American Early Learning Project was a Department of Education literacy and culture demonstration grant provided through the Puget Sound Educational Service District office. With her 20 years of professional experience working at Chief Leschi Schools and ten years at Grandview, she provided suggestions for teaching cultural education for Chief Leschi Schools and for a future staff

development program for all school employees. Teresa Harvey also has suggestions for a future staff development program. Peggy and Teresa both believe that culture is foundational to the success of our students. They are both in agreement that there needs to be a strong focus on the teaching of language and culture for all grades, preschool through grade 12.

Peggy feels that language and culture need to be an integral component for the education of Native American children. She believes that language and culture need to be interweaved throughout all the subjects in the curriculum. Language and culture need to be written into every literacy grant. At the Grandview Early Learning Center she provides a financial incentive for her teachers to learn the language. Coursework in Twulshootseed is provided free of charge, and the staff members receive a \$500 gift certificate incentive for completion of the coursework. Peggy has written a grant that pays for her staff to receive the training and the financial incentives. She recommends that Chief Leschi Schools write similar grants.

**Suggestions from Peggy McCloud.** Peggy believes there needs to be a cultural sensitivity and information training on tribal history in the pre-service days at the beginning of the school year. Ideally, this training would be facilitated by a panel of tribal elders and culturally trained staff members. Her recommendation is that the staff development class be geared toward the non-Native staff but be inclusive of all staff members. The training should provide an opportunity for non-Native staff members to have an opportunity to learn about our Puyallup culture and language with emphasis on tribal history and how our school came to be. Peggy said,

The staff members need to understand the struggles of our elders and the tribal members who fought for this school. The school didn't just come out of the blue. They need to know where the school came from so they will have an understanding and appreciation.

We still have Ramona Bennett, Bertha Turnipseed, Don Mathieson, and Roleen Hargrove. They need to comprise the panel of Salish cultural experts.

Peggy said there have been occasional cultural trainings over the years at Chief Leschi Schools, but they have not been consistent. She firmly believes there needs to be a stronger emphasis on culture and language and it needs to more than just Culture Day. This is a special day that occurs in the late Spring every year that celebrates our Puyallup heritage. Peggy's recommendation is that culture be taught every day in a very integrated way at all grade levels.

She said it is also possible to teach culture in a theme-based manner, but this would require the culture staff to create instructional kits for every grade level. This would also require the staff members to participate in a training focused on how to integrate the culture kits throughout the curriculum. Peggy emphasized that the staff must have buy-in for any cultural education program to be successful, and this can be accomplished with a thoughtfully developed staff development program derived from elder Indigenous knowledge. The training by the panel of elders would focus on: 1) tribal history 2) historical trauma 3) Twulshootseed language 4) ways to infuse language and culture into the instructional day, 5) peer mentoring, and a 6) follow-up training for new staff members. Peggy recommended implementing Professional Learning Communities within the grade bands involving all staff members including para-professionals, librarians, reading specialists, etc.

Implementing Professional Learning Communities is a powerful staff development approach and a potent strategy for school and system improvement (Harris & Chrispeels, 2008; Hopkins, 2007; Stoll & Seashore, 2007). The idea of a professional learning community is grounded in the knowledge and experience that has been gained over many years from encouraging teachers to work together more collaboratively (Darling-Hammond, 1996; Guskey,

1986; Louis & Kruse, 1995). It has been informed by the literature about effective organizations which shows how they access, circulate and distribute knowledge as a way to achieve continuous improvement (Leithwood, Leonard, & Sharratt, 1997; Sergiovanni, 1994). Professional support through teacher networks, professional collaboration and expanded professional roles improved teacher efficacy and enhanced teacher effectiveness (Rosenholtz, 1989). Professional Learning Communities has been associated with positive changes in teaching performance (Harris, 2009; Stoll & Seashore, 2007).

**Suggestions from Teresa Harvey.** As mentioned, Teresa recently retired from Chief Leschi Schools where she worked as a first grade teacher, P-5 culture teacher, and P-12 culture coordinator for over 30 years. Teresa believes that Chief Leschi Schools needs to provide a training at the beginning of the school year on cultural sensitivity geared for the non-Native staff. Teresa said, “They just don’t get us. They don’t understand our cultural beliefs and traditions.” Teresa explained that the new staff especially do not understand how revered our elders are and what the standard protocols are. Teresa said that the staff training on cultural sensitivity and our traditional ways needs to occur every school year because the district has new staff join every year.

***Community Intergenerational Trauma Healing Program.*** Teresa suggested that we need to have a community healing program for our elders because so many of them have not had a chance to heal from the intergenerational trauma caused from Indian boarding schools. She said, “Some of our elders do not understand why it is hard for them to come to the school. They need to have the opportunity to participate in a healing training where they learn about what happened to our ancestors and how it has affected them. They need to have chance to learn about historical trauma.” She said, “Our elders will heal if they have a training that provides an

awareness. They need to understand why they feel the way they do.” Teresa said that her mother did not have a healing from her intergenerational boarding school trauma until she was 50 years old. She explained that her mother was never able to express love to her children. Teresa said, “We confronted my mother. We told her we cannot accept her non-loving behavior anymore. We explained to her that her negative behavior is a natural response to being raised in the boarding school.” They explained to their mother that the lack of love she expresses to the family is a result of her not having a nurturing and loving home to grow up in. Teresa said this one informational session with their mother was healing for her and for her adult children. Teresa said that her mother’s pain was carried far into adulthood. She said, “Many of our elders still carry a lot of their pain today. They need to have the opportunity to heal from it.”

What Teresa is suggesting is that we need to have a community psychology historical trauma healing program for our elders. A program such as this would have to be co-developed with the program director of the Puyallup Tribe’s Kwawatchee Counseling Center. It would involve writing a proposal complete with budget projections and submitting a formal Council Determination Report request to the members of the Puyallup tribal council to review and make a decision. The writers of the proposal might have to go before council and give a presentation on the goals of the training, who would facilitate it, content, provide a plan for transporting elders to the training, food costs, employee costs, facility arrangements, etc. If it were approved, it could be implemented.

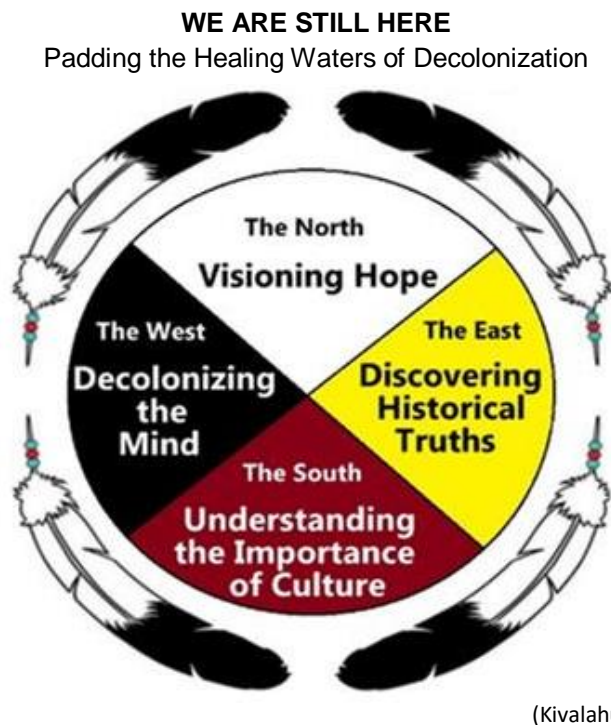
### **Next Steps for the Tribal School**

Development and implementation of a community psychology decolonization staff development program for the tribal school is suggested using the foundational principles described in Poka Laenui’s *Processes of Decolonization*: a) Rediscovery and Recovery,



b) Mourning, c) Dreaming, d) Commitment, and e) Action (Laenui, 2000). These principles will be integrated within the four quadrants of the sacred medicine wheel (see Figure 20). A staff development program titled, *WE ARE STILL HERE*, is recommended. The program will focus on critically examining colonization, power, domination, inequities, the importance of culture, Puyallup tribal history, correction of the historical narratives, the Twulshootseed language, Terror Management Theory (and its applications to culture), and Laenui's decolonization process steps while envisioning hope, making a commitment to a decolonized mind, and promoting liberation, self-determination, action, sovereignty, and nation-building. It is recommended that the staff development facilitator work collaboratively with a tribal elder panel and trained cultural specialists to provide a training on how to integrate these concepts within instructional delivery, education program assessment and evaluation, curriculum, and the school environment.

Figure 20



*Figure 20.* The *WE ARE STILL HERE* community psychology decolonization staff development program with the directions of the sacred medicine wheel identified.

**Decolonization staff development plan.** The *WE ARE STILL HERE* decolonization staff development program will employ culturally responsive values within the project design; whereas, people and place, matter and spirit, nature and culture are interrelated into a dynamic process of wholeness. The staff development training will consist of four recovery and healing topics aligned within the medicine wheel's directional quadrants. In traditional healing ceremonies there are four segments or doors which lead to the four sacred quadrants of the universe (Eastman, 1995).

***The sacred medicine wheel.*** Decolonization of the mind and tribal school will occur within the sacred medicine wheel. The circle is a sacred symbol and is at the heart of the Native American worldview. The components of the *Circle of Life* are the spirit, nature, body, and mind; which comprises the four directions. We each have our own medicine wheel or way of life wherein we choose which of the four directions to focus most of our energy and how we seek our balance (Garrett & Garrett, 1994). In seeking our medicine, we are pursuing a balance between the universe and ourselves. Living our lives in harmony means being in step with the universe. This decolonization process may be thought of as a sacred *ceremony* and the program design will incorporate elder Indigenous knowledge and our honored traditions. The Circle of Life surrounds us and exists within us. We have a sacred relationship to all living things and life itself.

The four directions, east, south, west, and north are the sacred quadrants of the universe and each quadrant contains special meanings and elements of power, spirits, and sacred teachings (Vick, Smith, & Herrera, 1998). The spiritual essence of all life forms – plant, animal, and human – resides in these four directions (Coggins, 1990). The fifth direction is the sky and it represents the Great Spirit or Great Creator. The sixth direction represents mother-grandmother,

the source of all life forms (Vick, Smith, & Herrera, 1998). The seventh direction is the spiritual essence of self, and it represents unification of all the sacred directions. When the seven sacred directions are in harmony and balance, the medicine wheel is whole (Brown, 1989).

The staff development program will begin in the east quadrant, which is representative of new beginnings. In Indian Country, we think of the children as being in the east. As they develop and mature, they move directionally to the south, west, and then the north, which is representative of elder Indigenous knowledge. My tribal school, Chief Leschi Schools, features the elementary side of the building facing east and the high school facing west. In keeping with the Puyallup culture, we will begin the training in the east, which is the realm of knowledge and enlightenment. We will conclude the staff development training in the north, which is the physical realm where balance and hope is restored in people's lives. This is where individuals develop an understanding of the connection between the physical, psychological, spiritual, and emotional parts of human existence.

**What educational leaders and staff members must do.** Educational leaders and teachers must engage themselves and their students in a decolonization process of dialogue, self-reflection, and praxis to sustain and privilege Indigenous knowledge systems while simultaneously addressing contemporary goals and issues within the context of the school (Garcia & Shirley, 2012). Tribal school teachers must ignite a critical consciousness within their students utilizing elder Indigenous knowledge systems with a social justice oriented curriculum. There must be a balanced and blended pedagogy derived from both Western and *spuyaləpabš* (Puyallup) traditional values. Pedagogy must be critical, self-reflexive, dialogical, decolonizing, and transformative while valuing and relying on elder Indigenous knowledge systems to promote, protect, and preserve Indigenous languages, cultures, land, and people (Denzin &

Lincoln, 2008). Staff development participants must develop an understanding that Indigenous pedagogy is both political and moral and must value the transformative power of Indigenous subjugated knowledge. This training must highlight the pedagogical practices that produce these knowledges (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999), and it must seek praxis and inquiry that are emancipatory and empowering (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). This discovery cannot be purely intellectual; it must involve serious reflection, action, and praxis (Freire, 1972). This staff development program will transform the participants and the school environment, and hopefully bring forth a personal and collective healing.

### **Next Steps for the Tribal Community**

It is evident from the eight interviews that our elders and their families have been negatively impacted by intergenerational historical trauma. A next step to consider, would be to meet with the director of the Puyallup Tribe's Kwawachee Counseling Center, and co-develop a plan to bring information and community healing opportunities to the tribal membership, conceptually similar to the one presented at the tribal school, but with a focus on personal and family healing. It might start with an informational series of articles to be published in the Puyallup Tribal News and in the social media newsgroup websites. It might also involve developing a community psychology historical trauma healing program for our tribal elders and community members. Another possibility is co-presenting an informational session on intergenerational historical trauma healing at an upcoming Puyallup tribal membership meeting. This would involve first acquiring tribal council approval and support. An informational presentation could also be presented on the Puyallup tribe's radio talk channel, and an article could be posted on the websites for the Puyallup tribe, Kwawachee, and Chief Leschi Schools. When our tribal and school communities heal from intergenerational historical trauma our

people's attitudes about life and education will become more positive and hopeful, which will lead to greater personal and academic success. Participants will become *warriors* in the fight for their own liberation, and decolonization of the mind for the tribal school and community will occur.

### **Suggestions for Future Research**

It is recommended to interview more of our tribal elders because the recovery of Indigenous knowledge is vitally important to the process of decolonization. Indigenous scholar Waziyatawin (2004) wrote,

The recovery of Indigenous knowledge is deeply intertwined with the process of decolonization because for many of us it is only through a consciously critical assessment of how the historical process of colonization has systematically devalued our Indigenous ways that we can begin to reverse the damage wrought from those assaults. The revaluing of our traditional knowledge has to begin in our own communities among our own people, not only because we are the major holders of the knowledge and the major impetus for decolonization begins there, but also so that we can prevent that knowledge from being appropriated by the colonial system. (p. 362)

We need to try to capture as many of their personal life stories as we can for future generations. Through their Indigenous lenses we can capture their memories of our tribal history and culture through their life stories. Poka Laenui's first step of the decolonization process is: rediscovery and recovery (Laenui, 2000). The act of conducting oral history with our elders is a first step in decolonization of the mind.

Other areas for future research include studying more about strategies to improve self-esteem and self-efficacy for our Native American learners and develop action steps as part of a

community psychology healing program designed to help our tribal membership and school community heal from the impact of intergenerational historical trauma. I would like to write and publish a decolonization of the mind handbook for the tribal schools.

### **A Cultural Revolution**

As researchers and tribal members, we need to imbue decolonization concepts within our daily lives and careers. We must internalize decolonization so that its concepts and values are no longer new to us. These truths need to become a part of our repertoire that shapes our world. We must come to know and understand theory and research from our own Indigenous lenses (Smith, 1999, p. 39). When research and evaluation are performed in culturally responsive and compatible ways, it can positively assist us with the goals of self-determination, decolonization, sovereignty, and nation building (The Colorado Trust, 2014).

Paulo Freire (1972) emphasized in his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, that the decolonization process requires leadership to initiate a *cultural revolution* that involves the total society including all human activities (p. 139). There must be a *cultural synthesis*, which is a mode of action that confronts culture itself. The cultural action is an instrument for superseding the dominate culture. The leaders and the people are “reborn” in new knowledge and new behaviors (Freire, 1972, p. 162).

As Indigenous scholars, we must lead the charge for this cultural revolution movement that will positively restore our Indigenous identities and help bring healing to our tribal communities. The goal for this staff development program will be for all staff members and interested community members to critically examine colonization, power, domination, inequities, ancestral historical narratives, Terror Management Theory, the importance of culture, the decolonization process steps while envisioning hope, making a commitment to a decolonized

mind, and promoting action and liberation. Through this process, people will become enlightened, empowered, emancipated, and *warriors* in the fight for their own liberation.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix A: Oral History Interview Questions

Theme I: Family Life
Guiding Questions/Topics
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. When and where were you born?</li> <li>2. Tell me about your parents and family background.</li> <li>3. What do you remember about your parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents?</li> <li>4. What stories did you hear about your ancestors?</li> </ol>

Theme II: Tribal Culture and History
Guiding Questions/Topics
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. What tribe were your parents a member of?</li> <li>2. What cultural experiences do you recall as a child and as an adult?</li> <li>3. What do you remember about your Native language? Do you or members of your family speak your Native language?</li> <li>4. In what ways have you been involved in your Native culture?</li> <li>5. What are your thoughts about Puyallup tribal culture?</li> <li>6. What does being a member of the Puyallup Tribe of Indians mean to you?</li> <li>7. What do you know about Puyallup tribal history?</li> <li>8. Do you recall any Puyallup tribal stories or legends?</li> <li>9. What do you recall of Puyallup tribal traditional medicine and ceremonies?</li> </ol>

Theme III: Education and Indian Boarding Schools
Guiding Questions/Topics
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Where did you attend school?</li> <li>2. When you were a child, what were your thoughts and feeling about school?</li> <li>3. What did your family members think about your academic performance in school?</li> <li>4. When you were growing up, what did you imagine your future job to be after you finished school?</li> <li>5. What kind of jobs have you had in your life?</li> <li>6. What did your siblings do after finishing school?</li> <li>7. What were your mother, father, and other family members' educational journeys?</li> <li>8. What do you know of Indian Boarding Schools?</li> <li>9. If they did, what Indian Boarding Schools did your family or ancestors attend?</li> <li>10. What stories have you heard about Indian Boarding Schools?</li> <li>11. If at all, in what ways do you think Indian Boarding Schools might have affected your family today?</li> <li>12. What are your thoughts regarding Indian Boarding Schools of the past and present?</li> </ol>

Theme IV: Themes Related to the Research Project
Guiding Questions/Topics
<p><b>Note: Some of the participants will understand the concepts of colonization and decolonization. Some of the participants have been well-known activists in Indian rights.</b></p>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. What is a tribal elder? What is an elder's role in our tribe?</li> <li>2. What do you know about the word "colonization," and how it affected Native Americans? <b>If there is no understanding of the word colonization, skip all remaining questions in this</b></li> </ol>



**section. Go directly to Theme V: Our Traditional Ways.**

3. How do you suppose colonization affected our grandparents' and ancestors' lives?
4. What is your understanding of the word "decolonization?"

**If there is no understanding of the word decolonization, go directly to question #10.**

5. Decolonization could be of the land, food, history, books, teaching and the school, museum artifacts, or our thoughts. In what ways could we include the Great Spirit in a staff training focused on decolonization of teaching and the school?
6. Do you have any thoughts about how Puyallup tribal members can decolonize their thinking?
7. Do you feel that decolonization is an important activity for Puyallup tribal members? Please explain.
8. Can you think of any specific activities that should be included if we did a decolonizing activity for teaching and the school?
9. What do you suppose non-Native tribal school staff members need to know about our tribal history, colonization, and decolonization?
10. If we held a staff training at Chief Leschi Schools that focused on tribal history, what our ancestors experienced at Indian Boarding Schools and its possible impact on education, would you be interested in participating in some way? What might your role be?

**Theme V: Our Traditional Ways**

**Guiding Questions/Topics**

1. What kind of Native American spiritual or religious experiences did you observe or participate in as a child and an adult?
2. Please describe any spiritual cleansings or healings have you observed or heard about.
3. What experiences have you had sensing a spiritual presence at Native religious ceremonies, if any?
4. In what ways does a belief in the Great Spirit and spirituality influence the daily lives of Puyallup tribal members?
5. **If the interviewee has an understanding of decolonization, ask:** What do you think about including a traditional cleansing with a staff development training on colonization, decolonization, and education? What might that look like? Would you be interested in participating?



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## Appendix B: Informed Consent Form

### Consent to Participate in Research Project

Dr. Maria Iding, Principal Investigator

Hannah Kivalahula-Uddin, Co-Investigator, Puyallup Tribal Elder

**Oral History Research Project:** My name is Hannah Kivalahula-Uddin, daughter of Puyallup tribal elder, Gladys Rarden. I am a graduate student in Educational Psychology at the University of Hawai'i (UH) at Mānoa. I will be interviewing 8 Puyallup tribal elders. The purpose of this research is to discover your thoughts and memories of your family's life experiences and attitudes related to education, employment, home-life, spirituality, Puyallup culture, and Indian boarding schools. This research project will provide an opportunity for you to orally share your life history story.

**Activities and Time Commitment:** If you agree to participate, I will interview you once or twice at a time and place convenient to you. The interview(s) will last about 90 minutes each. I will record the interviews using a digital audio and video recorder. The interviews will be informal and conversational. I want to get your personal recollections of your life experiences being a Puyallup tribal member.

After the interviews, a research assistant will type a written record of the interviews. Then my research assistant and I will check and edit the transcript for accuracy. Then, I will send you the transcript, so you can make any changes that you would like, if you have any. I estimate that it will take you from 5 to 6 hours to do this, depending on how many changes you make. We will then incorporate your revisions into the transcript. The final transcript will be typed later for publication. At a future date, bound volumes will be distributed to libraries (including the Puyallup tribal library) for use by other oral historians and the general public.

Users will be permitted to use, in unpublished works, short excerpts from any of the transcriptions without obtaining permission as long as proper credit is given to the interviewee (you), interviewer (me), and the UH Center for Oral History. At the completion of the project, I would like to store the digital audio files with you in the digital archives of the UH Center for Oral History. The digital audio-video files will only be housed at the Puyallup tribal library for our tribal community. The purposes of storing these files are to:

- (a) Maintain a "living" audible file of the interviews, as they sounded, and
- (b) Maintain a "living" video file of the interviews, as they sounded and appeared, and
- (c) Permit students, faculty, researchers, and the public to listen to the interviews.

**Voluntary Participation:** Your participation in this project is voluntary. You may withdraw from participation at any time, until the completion date of this project which is expected to be July 15, 2018. During the interviews, you can choose to not answer any question(s) at any time for any reason. If you disapprove of, wish to change, add to, delete, or otherwise change the transcripts or the audio-video file of the interviews, you may do so at any time up to the completion of this project. If you decide that the transcripts and/or audio-video files should not be archived, we will end the project.

**Benefits and Risks:** A direct benefit of participating in this project is your family members will have a record of your life history to be saved for future generations. Your participation will contribute to the historical record of the lived experiences of Puyallup tribal elders. We want to create an authentic record and make it available it to scholars and the general public as a reliable historical document. To do that, it is important that your actual name appear as the interviewee on the transcript. In addition, the transcripts and audio-video files of the interviews will include your name, likeness, and personal recollections. Thus, one potential risk to you is a loss of privacy. Another possible risk is that a conversation about what happened to your family members and ancestors in Indian boarding schools might stir up a variety of emotions, such as, discomfort, sadness, anger, or empowerment. In such cases, we can take a break, skip that topic, and/or you may choose to stop participating altogether. If you feel the need to talk with a counselor after the interviews, sessions can be arranged at the Puyallup Tribe's Kwawachee Counseling Center at (253) 593-0232 at no cost to you.

**Privacy and Confidentiality:** In order to accurately document this historic event, it is important that your name appear as the interviewee on the transcript. However, you retain the right to change, delete, or add information in the transcripts and audio-video files.

**Questions:** Please contact me, Hannah Kivalahula-Uddin, at (808) 753-0587 if you have any questions regarding this project. You may contact the UH Human Studies Program at (808) 956-5007 or [uhirb@hawaii.edu](mailto:uhirb@hawaii.edu) to discuss problems concerns, and questions; obtain information; or offer input with an informed individual who is unaffiliated with the specific research protocol. Please visit <https://www.hawaii.edu/researchcompliance/information-research-participants> for more information on your rights as a research participant.



### Agreement to Participate in

#### Puyallup Tribe of Indians Elder Oral History Research Project

*"I certify that I have read and that I understand the information in this consent form, that I have been given satisfactory answers to my questions concerning the project, and that I have been told that I am free to withdraw my consent and to discontinue participation in the project at any time without any negative consequences to me.*

*I herewith give my consent to participate in this project with the understanding that such consent does not waive any of my legal rights."*

---

Printed Name of Interviewee

---

Signature of Interviewee

---

Date

If you consent to be in this project, please sign the signature section below and return it to Hannah Kivalahula-Uddin. A copy of this form will be given to you, either through the postal service or through electronic mail.

**Signature(s) for Consent:**

I give permission to join the research project entitled,  
*"Puyallup Tribal Elder Oral History Project 2018."*

Please check either "Yes" or "No" for the following:

- |                              |                             |   |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No | I consent to be audio-recorded for the interview portion of this research.  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No | I consent to being video-recorded for the interview portion of this research.                                       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No | I give permission to allow the investigator to use my real name to be used for the publication of this research.    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No | I consent to be photographed and provide a release of the image(s) to be used for the publication of this research. |

**Name of Participant (Print):** \_\_\_\_\_

**Participant's Signature:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Signature of the Person Obtaining Consent:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix C: University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Institutional Review Board Approval Letter



UNIVERSITY  
of HAWAII®  
SYSTEM

### Office of Research Compliance Human Studies Program

**TO:** Iding, Marie, PhD, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Educational Psychology  
Kivalahula-Uddin, Hannah, MEd, Educational Psychology, University of Hawaii at Manoa  
**FROM:** Rivera, Victoria, Interim Dir, Ofc of Rsch Compliance, Social&Behav Exempt  
**PROTOCOL TITLE:** Decolonization of the Mind A Strategy to Improve Native American Student Achievement  
**FUNDING SOURCE:**  
**PROTOCOL NUMBER:** 2018-00412  
Approval Date: May 23, 2018 Expiration Date: December 31, 1999

### NOTICE OF APPROVAL FOR HUMAN RESEARCH

This letter is your record of the Human Studies Program approval of this study as exempt.

On May 23, 2018, the University of Hawaii (UH) Human Studies Program approved this study as exempt from federal regulations pertaining to the protection of human research participants. The authority for the exemption applicable to your study is documented in the Code of Federal Regulations at 45 CFR 46.101(b) 2.

Exempt studies are subject to the ethical principles articulated in The Belmont Report, found at the OHRP Website [www.hhs.gov/ohrp/humansubjects/guidance/belmont.html](http://www.hhs.gov/ohrp/humansubjects/guidance/belmont.html).

Exempt studies do not require regular continuing review by the Human Studies Program. However, if you propose to modify your study, you must receive approval from the Human Studies Program prior to implementing any changes. You can submit your proposed changes via email at [uhirb@hawaii.edu](mailto:uhirb@hawaii.edu). (The subject line should read: Exempt Study Modification.) The Human Studies Program may review the exempt status at that time and request an application for approval as non-exempt research.

In order to protect the confidentiality of research participants, we encourage you to destroy private information which can be linked to the identities of individuals as soon as it is reasonable to do so. Signed consent forms, as applicable to your study, should be maintained for at least the duration of your project.

This approval does not expire. However, please notify the Human Studies Program when your study is complete. Upon notification, we will close our files pertaining to your study.

If you have any questions relating to the protection of human research participants, please contact the Human Studies Program by phone at 956-5007 or email [uhirb@hawaii.edu](mailto:uhirb@hawaii.edu). We wish you success in carrying out your research project.

1960 East-West Road  
Biomedical Sciences Building B104  
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822  
Telephone: (808) 956-5007  
Fax: (808) 956-8683  
An Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action Institution

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